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**The Transgressions of Wise Men:  
Structure, Tension and Agency in Intercultural Development  
Discourse.**

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**Submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of PhD**

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*The doctor's wife has nerves of steel, and yet the doctor's wife  
is reduced to tears because of a personal pronoun,  
an adverb, a verb, an adjective, mere grammatical categories...*

José Saramago, *Blindness*.

## **Abstract.**

This thesis is based on fieldwork carried out in Guyana, South America, between 1999 and 2002, looking at the use of English in negotiating situations between the indigenous Makushi communities of the North Rupununi Savannah, the Government of Guyana, and non-governmental and international development organisations. It considers notions of liminality and third-space encounters as they relate to the evolution within the Discourse of Development of fora that temporarily accommodate both indigenous and external modes of discourse, so opening up for debate the ideologies behind them while fostering the interactive development of a third mode capable of expressing relevant aspects of both ideological systems simultaneously and so capable of expanding each individually.

The need for such a hybrid space is placed in relation to the material situation of the Makushi people and wider socioeconomic and cultural issues of power, ideology and the limits of agency. The ongoing development of this space is illustrated through detailed analysis of linguistic interaction within the specific forum of the North Rupununi District Development Board. A theory is developed for relating micro and macro issues of discourse and power and a two-way relationship established between top-down pressures towards conformity and bottom-up processes of agentive change. This framework is then related to the current subordinate position of Makushi communities within Guyana and their existing achievements in developing hybrid discourses to challenge this situation. The thesis concludes with a consideration of possible applications within the existing development context in the North Rupununi, within international development in general, and within the education system.

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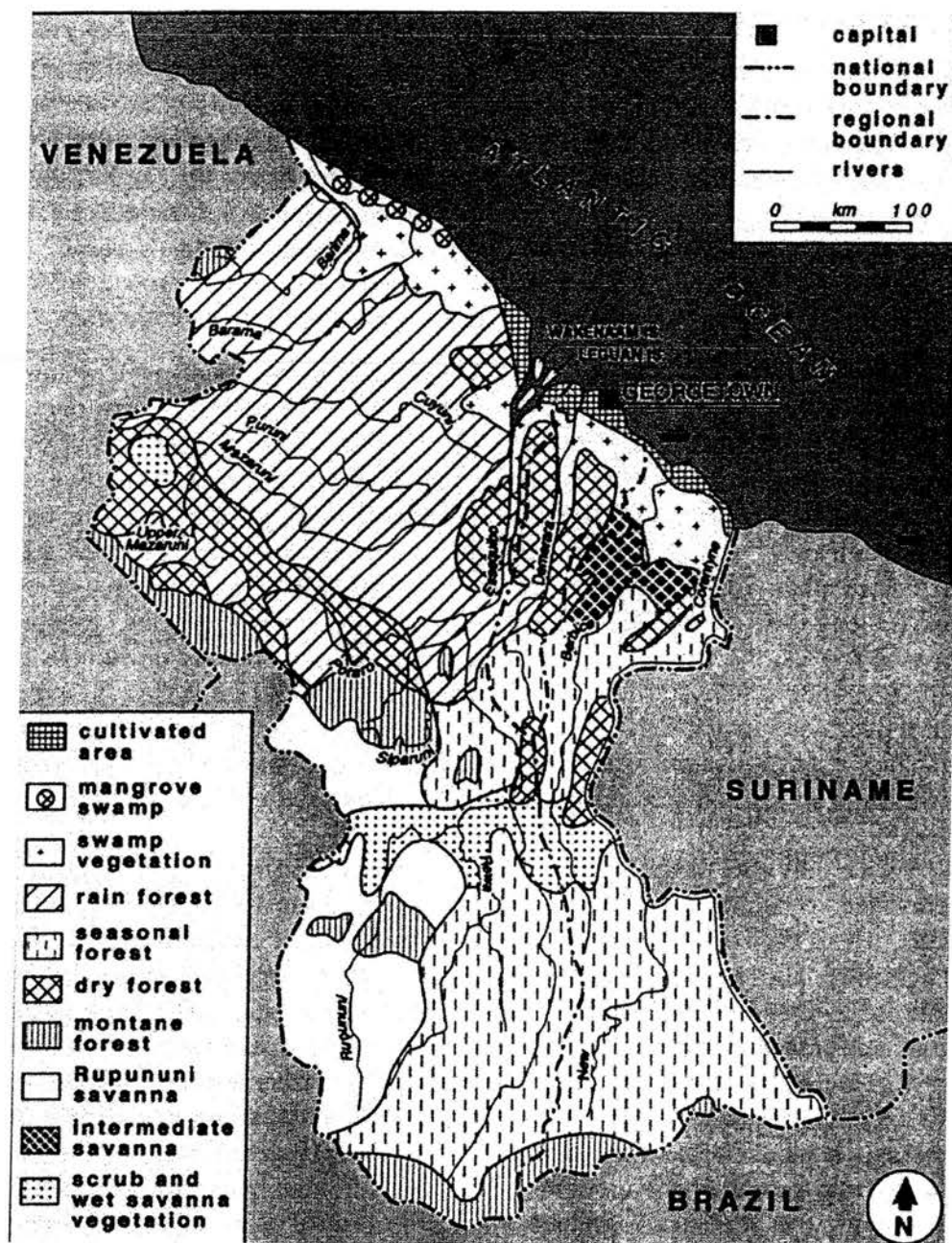
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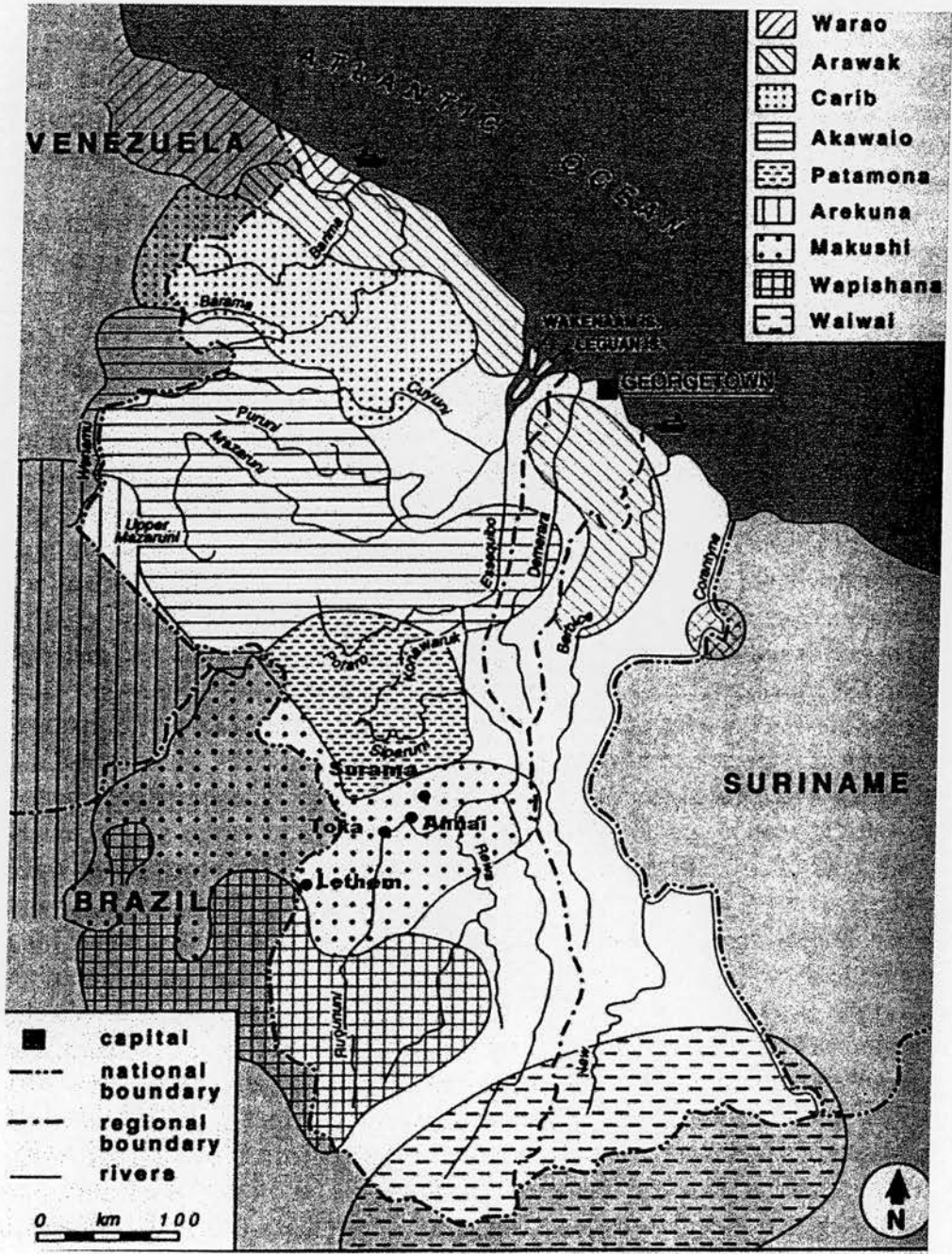
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**Map 1.** Vegetation of Guyana. Reproduced from Colchester (1997:6)



**Map 2.** General Distribution of Amerindian Peoples. Reproduced from Colchester (1997:8). Toka, Surama, Annai and Lethem marked.





## Transcription Conventions:

**W:** Now [what X was saying

**Eu:** [You gotta

=

(xxx)

(shortfall here)

(?how it is)

[...]

((noise of flipchart))

**Eu:** This what we don't understand.

<<rustling of papers>>

far

...

(11s)

↑

↓

VANESSA

°here and leave this one°

°°either way°°

<that is why the action>

>the current fix<

lo:gging

\*hello\*

overlapping speech

no perceptible pause between words

unclear speech (roughly one x per syllable)

best guess

more tentative guess

data omitted

transcriber's comment

action contemporaneous with stretch of speech

greater stress than expected

short pause in speech (roughly, up to 2s)

timed pause in speech

higher than expected pitch

lower than expected pitch

louder than normal

quieter than normal

far quieter than normal

faster than normal

slower than normal

lengthening of vowel

said laughing



## **Chapter One: Social and Theoretical Background.**

### **1.1 Introduction.**

This thesis is based on fieldwork carried out in the North Rupununi savannahs of Guyana, South America, between March 1999 and July 2002 and looks at the use of English, the national language of Guyana and the lingua franca of the development organisations that work there, within negotiating situations between the indigenous Makushi population of the north savannahs, the Government of Guyana, and national and international development organisations.

Guyana nestles into Brazil's North East shoulder and is dwarfed by its neighbour, though it is in fact larger than Great Britain. To the North-West is Venezuela, whose governments have for over a hundred years claimed two thirds of Guyanese territory, including the Rupununi. To the South-East is Suriname (formerly Dutch Guiana). Despite its size, Guyana has a population of only some 750,000 (Colchester 1997:ix), 90% of whom live on a coastal plain extending only a few miles inland. Georgetown, the capital, sits at the mouth of the Demerara River in the centre of the coastal plain. It has a population of between 180,000 and 250,000 (Colchester 1997:ix). The Makushi, in contrast, live deep in the interior, on savannah land straddling the Brazilian border. The entire Rupununi measures 22,313 square miles, 27% of the area of Guyana, but has a population of only some 20,000 (RDC 9 Undated:1). Between the communities of the Rupununi and the coastal population there is two hundred miles of forest.

Although the Makushi live mainly on the savannahs<sup>1</sup>, their communities border the Iwokrama Forest, which they exploit extensively and which they have claimed as indigenous territory. However, control over the 360,000 hectares of this forest was granted to the international community in 1996 and the Iwokrama International Rainforest Conservation Programme (Iwokrama) was set up to promote the conservation and sustainable utilisation of the forest. Through the work of several key members Iwokrama, however, came to realise that conservation of the

environment included working with the indigenous communities of the area to achieve sustainable social development.

Prior to this, the 'development process' in the indigenous regions of Guyana had seen the very communities it was supposed to benefit become increasingly marginalised as local input into the process was not sought and indigenous cultural systems were ignored by Government and development agencies alike in an externally-driven programme that served only to rupture traditional community life without providing viable alternatives. This process is described in some detail in Chapter 2. With the advent of the Iwokrama programme in particular, however, things began to change as attempts were made to integrate the 'imported'<sup>2</sup> skills and knowledge Iwokrama brought to the development process with the existing skills and knowledge of the indigenous communities. Social scientists from Iwokrama have worked to foster good relations with community leaders and to develop a two-way discourse. As part of these changes in orientation to the development process, and at the request of the local communities, the North Rupununi District Development Board (NRDDB) was set up to coordinate the development activities of the thirteen local communities, to facilitate communications with Iwokrama, and to petition external bodies, particularly the Government, but also organisations such as the Guyanese Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UNICEF, the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) and Youth Challenge International (YCI). The NRDDB holds board meetings over two days every two months and this forum strives to develop a more balanced dialogue than had previously existed between local communities and external developers. These meetings are the institutional focus of my fieldwork and the source of the greater part of my data.

It is thanks to Iwokrama that I first came to the North Rupununi, for which I am immensely grateful, in an arrangement by which I reported to them on communications issues in return for them facilitating my fieldwork. At no time, however, was I a representative of Iwokrama, a position I believe was accepted by the many people from the communities of the North Rupununi with whom I discussed various issues and who helped me in so many ways.

During my fieldwork I attended a number of NRDDDB meetings and from these I recorded 17 hours of proceedings and eight and a half hours of NRDDDB business outside meetings. I also recorded six hours of a national education workshop and four hours of an international conservation conference to which prominent members of the NRDDDB contributed significantly. This data was supplemented by interviews on issues of development and communication with key participants in the development process, of which twelve and a half hours was recorded. Recorded data therefore totals 48 hours. A chronological list of my recordings is given as Appendix 1.

My original intention was to analyse this data from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) 'language and power' perspective, adapted to the bilingual setting, in order to demonstrate how inequalities in discourse rights reflecting inequality in socioeconomic and political status were reinforced by the fact that the majority of indigenous participants were operating in what was at best a second language, English (which is the national language of Guyana<sup>3</sup> and the lingua franca of the development agencies that work there). Predicted practical applications centred on how the English-language syllabus in schools could accommodate these findings within a syllabus tailored to local needs and capabilities. However, over the three years during which I observed discourse processes and got to know participants from both sides, I came to realise that the power relations in communicative events were not as straightforward as I had originally assumed and that they were variously embedded in community, national and international social structures and in the complex interplay between these. More importantly, it became clear to me that over this period control over discourse within NRDDDB meetings had evolved significantly and without the external impetus I had assumed would be necessary. These impressions were backed up by the various linguistic analyses I began to produce for Iwokrama. In brief, my impressions and analyses both suggested that the NRDDDB was becoming less a part of Iwokrama's outreach programme, under their ultimate control, and more of an effective and increasingly autonomous pressure group for community-based development.

In terms of discourse structures, this increased control over the NRDDDB meetings was being achieved simultaneously at the level of exchange, where local participants were showing increased willingness and competence in controlling the immediate flow of

discourse, and at a more institutional level, in bringing the meetings closer to community custom in terms of the topics discussed, the relations between participants, and the role of language itself as a means of transmitting social values. The thesis therefore no longer sets out to prescribe appropriate strategies for minimising power differentials in discourse, but instead attempts to identify and analyse instances of this process as they occurred autonomously and to trace the shift in power relations that these instances prompted over time. Practical applications are therefore no longer centred around considerations of what needs to be remedied within the institutional discourse of the NRDDDB, as determined by criteria external to the social situation, but in terms of how to exploit and develop what is already being displayed there by the local participants themselves. The thesis considers how this might be achieved within NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse; what implications this approach has for development work in general; and how the textual analyses produced might be exploited as teaching materials within a curriculum aimed at empowering local participants within the development process.

## **1.2 Participants at NRDDDB meetings**

### **1.2.1 The Makushi people of the North Rupununi.**

According to Guyana's advisory *National Development Strategy* (NDS 2000:277), there are roughly 46,010 Amerindians in Guyana, comprising nine distinct ethnic groups and representing 6.4% of the total population of nearly three-quarters of a million. This apparently represents a decline in the total Amerindian population of 5.8% between 1993 and 1999. Amerindians represent the fourth largest ethnic group in Guyana, after East Indians (brought in as indentured labour), Africans (brought in as slaves), and mixed race respectively. These distinctions of race are extremely important culturally, economically and politically in Guyana. The largest Amerindian group, the Lokona/Arawak, live close to non-Amerindian groups on and near the coast, where roughly 90% of Guyanese live. The next largest Amerindian group are the Makushi, situated in the Rupununi savannahs on Guyana's western border with Brazil. Brazilian towns and facilities are closer than the Guyanese population base on the coast and the border exists more in theory than practice. Crossings are frequent



and easy and no passport is necessary to visit the closest towns and villages. Radio, and in a few cases satellite television, come to the savannahs from Brazilian rather than Guyanese stations. The map of Guyana on page xiv marks the areas where the different Amerindian peoples live.

The Makushi number between 7,000 and 9,000 within Guyana (NDS 2000:277; MRU 1996:5) and a further 15,000 in Roraima State, Brazil (MRU 1996:5). The Rupununi Savannahs are also home to roughly 6,000 Wapishana (Forte and Melville 1989:7), and so account for roughly a quarter of all Amerindians in the country (NDS 2000:277). The population figures signify a huge recovery from apparent near wipe-out: between 1835 and 1932 estimates concur on a total figure of roughly 3,000 Makushi evenly split between Guyana and Brazil (MRU 1996:10). I can find no official statistics on the Amerindian languages, which suggests something of the Government's attitude towards the country's Amerindian population. However, Iwokrama are currently compiling a wide range of social data in collaboration with local communities. From my own experience in the North Rupununi, I would (very roughly) characterise the area linguistically as follows:

- A sizeable minority of adult Makushi speak negligible English or none at all. This group increasingly comprises the older generations;
- A large section, probably the majority of the population, are native speakers of Makushi, but have learned English in school and through informal and business contacts with outsiders. Levels of competence in English differ drastically, though many from this group would pass as local native speakers;
- A sizeable minority are native English speakers with mainly passive understanding of Makushi, though they generally have a positive attitude towards the language;
- Many children and young adults from Makushi-speaking families are less competent in Makushi than in previous generations as a result of English-language schooling and the increased use of English within many domains of community life;

- There are also plenty of Portuguese speakers in the area, as testified by Frances Johnny, a Makushi of Karasabai Village (Forte and Melville 1989:80): "I would say that Portuguese is the second language in my area. Makushi is first and English third".

The communities of the North Rupununi are currently in a state of social, cultural and economic flux as they come into contact with wider society and international structures to an extent not witnessed since the European intrusion into the region in the late eighteenth century (Colchester 1997:45-46). Once an isolated region, planes now fly daily into the North Rupununi, carrying with them the previous day's papers, and improvements to the road from Georgetown mean that motor vehicles from the capital can reach the villages of Surama, Annai and Toka villages, the homes of my principal informants, in twelve hours. Local medical posts are dotted throughout the region, and there is a hospital in the main town of Lethem, though severe cases must be flown to Georgetown. Lorries carrying manufactured goods, tinned foods, beer and lemonade ply their trade between these villages on a daily basis. As well as creating trading relations between the Makushi and Coastlanders, the transportation of prepared foodstuffs and manufactured goods has long-term effects on local culture not only through the introduction of a monetary economy, but also on the local diet and levels of nutrition, methods of farming and traditional skills. Clothing is largely non-traditional, and indigenous dances and ceremonies are reserved for visiting dignitaries such as Prince Charles.

While community-based authority is still influential, the government-sanctioned authority of councillors, teachers, doctors and police, as well as those employed by development agencies, presents a challenge to traditional social hierarchies and means that the influence of the state is felt in all walks of life, while greater accessibility to the region means that this support can be rapidly backed up if necessary.

Telecommunications outside Lethem are severely limited, however, and generally restricted to a radio link operated once a day and in times of emergency. National radio can only be heard with difficulty and there is no terrestrial television, though a few satellite televisions exist. Several of these were installed during the 2002 World Cup as the Rupununi is fanatical about its local team - Brazil. Electricity, however, is

rare in the region. Lethem is powered by a small hydroelectric power plant, but outside the town only a few individual shops and houses have petrol-fuelled generators. UNICEF has recently provided many communities with solar power and lighting for school and community buildings and some families use car batteries, recharged from the solar power system, to run small appliances such as cassette players and lights.

With this increased exposure and contact come many challenges, both positive and negative, to aspects of the local cultural system ranging from the Makushi language to communal land holding. This is a period of critical importance for the people of the North Rupununi as they decide how to face up to these challenges, looking to the social and economic potential offered by wider communications and greater access to external resources while remaining cautious of an overenthusiastic embracing of new ideas, often foisted upon them, with their potential for wrong and irreversible development, the loss of cultural and natural heritage, and the widespread cultural anomie experienced in many rapidly-transforming communities worldwide. The *Report on Region 9's Poverty Reduction Strategy Consultations* (RDC 9:2001), a document prepared by the locally elected Regional Democratic Council (RDC) after grassroots consultation in about 50 villages, recognises the need for both traditional and modern input when it states in its preface that:

Communities were very responsive and participatory, it was noted that people are hungry for development, which they said, should occur hand in hand with cultural revival.

RDC 9 2001:5

That this cultural revival should include the use of indigenous languages is made clear in the consultation document's section on education, which calls for:

The use of local resource personnel with the necessary language skills to design and educate programmes in 'Indigenous Languages' for schools and member communities.

RDC 9 2001:31

The need to develop both traditional and new knowledge is underlined in "problems identified under economic opportunities and employment creation" where concerns

over the “lack of appropriate modern technology” and “cultural expertise not being passed on or shared to younger generations” (RDC 9 2001:8) reflect complementary aspects of the development process. This dual approach is mirrored in the section on communications, where proposed solutions to “problems identified under governance” (RDC 9 2001:14) include the suggestion that:

Government needs to be educated on the ways of the Amerindians and likewise the Amerindian needs to be educated on the ways of the Government.  
RDC 9 2001:16

Similarly:

Consultation on any community projects/programmes must be the hallmark of implementing any projects in the community. Local community experts must have a say in the decision making or else valuable funding will continue to be wasted.

RDC 9 2001:16

Importantly, these remarks and recommendations from the Regional Democratic Council, the regional Amerindian Touchaus’<sup>4</sup> Council and the communities themselves demonstrate that maintaining their cultural identity and their language as they develop expertise in modern technology is a genuine concern of the communities of the North Rupununi; it is not simply the vicarious nostalgia of a middle-class, first-world development elite.

### 1.2.2 Iwokrama

The Iwokrama International Rainforest Conservation Programme came into being in 1996, having arisen from a 1989 offer from the Guyanese Government to

make available a part of Guyana’s tropical rain forest (since determined to be 360,000 hectares) for use by the international community, under Commonwealth auspices, for developing and demonstrating methods for the sustainable utilisation of tropical rain forest resources and the conservation of biological diversity.

Iwokrama Act 1996:Preamble



Iwokrama's Mission Statement (NRDDB and Iwokrama 1999:7) specifies that the aim of the programme is to:

promote the conservation and sustainable and equitable use of tropical rain forests in a manner that will lead to lasting ecological and social benefit to the people of Guyana and the world in general by undertaking research and training and the development and dissemination of relevant technologies.

More specifically, Article 6(g) of the Iwokrama Act states that one of Iwokrama's activities is to:

endeavour to preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable utilisation of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovation and practice; and encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilisation of such knowledge innovations and practices.

Iwokrama is not directly answerable to the Amerindian communities but to a Board of Trustees, appointed jointly by the Government of Guyana and the Commonwealth Secretary-General, of which only one *ex officio* member need be Amerindian (Iwokrama Act 1996:Article 11). In practice this *ex officio* Board member has been the Minister of Amerindian Affairs, and as such a direct representative of the Government. However, Iwokrama is answerable indirectly to the communities as the bulk of their funding, from Britain's Department for International Development (DfID), is specified as being for social development. This means that continued funding for Iwokrama and jobs for the professionals employed there are heavily dependent on the continued good will of the Amerindian communities towards the project. Iwokrama is also reliant on Amerindian cooperation in providing traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) to supplement their own imported knowledge base. It is crucial to the Programme therefore that Amerindians continue to see Iwokrama as beneficial to their communities and respectful of their cultural practices while prominent community members are instrumental in promoting Iwokrama projects locally (Graham Watkins, Iwokrama Senior Wildlife Biologist, personal communication). As such Iwokrama workers are simultaneously constrained to work within what is defined as good development practice by their donor organisations while maintaining the goodwill of the local communities whose view of development

is not always in accordance with international 'expertise' on the matter (Janette Forte, Iwokrama Senior Social Scientist, personal conversation). Amerindian communities are also increasingly dependent on Iwokrama: as an ever-greater source of local employment through their Forest Ranger and Community Environment Worker (CEW) schemes; for the facilitation and funding of local meetings; and as an advocate for development projects at national and international level.

### 1.2.3 The NRDDDB

Uncle Fred<sup>5</sup> (Tape 33, Surama Rest House, 6/3/01), one of the founding fathers of the NRDDDB, describes Iwokrama's initial outreach work in the communities:

*As I said it was like knocking on a stone wall. In Georgetown and in the region, nobody had a clue of what Iwokrama, what a research station is like, what it is to do sustainable utilisation of the forest. It was a big fancy word nobody understood, especially in these rural communities. So these workshops now, started to bring, when we did workshops on mammals, we did workshop on birds, we did workshop on fishes, we did workshop on reptiles, this start to bring out the people understanding of what went on. And then the ranger training started to get rangers from the area to the... and this started to open people's eyes.*

It is in such a context that the NRDDDB was set up to facilitate meetings and workshops between Iwokrama scientists and social scientists and those communities bordering the Iwokrama Forest. Board meetings are attended by Makushi leaders, such as Uncle Fred, often with plenty of dealings with external authorities; touchaus, with plenty of experience of Amerindian sociopolitics at the purely local and internal level; the Makushi Research Unit (MRU), a group of mainly women who are documenting and publishing traditional knowledge with Iwokrama assistance; and CEWs, a group set up to explain Iwokrama's work at community level and to bring back to Iwokrama, through the Board, the desires, complaints, problems and satisfactions of the local communities. These last are seen as the outreach side of Iwokrama through the NRDDDB and are, theoretically, under the control of the latter, though funded by Iwokrama. They are often youngsters with little negotiating experience.

NRDDDB meetings cover two days every other month, with the first day dedicated to community business while the second day is attended, and largely officiated over, by

representatives of Iwokrama. Workshops and other activities often take place in conjunction with NRDDDB meetings as they require the participation of community members from throughout the region and transport is difficult and costly. Iwokrama provides road transport to and from Board meetings and covers the cost of those who arrive by boat.

#### 1.2.4 NRDDDB meetings and language use.

Within NRDDDB meetings discourse fulfils three core functions: as a means of representing and negotiating issues within the development process; as a means of negotiating interpersonal relationships between participants, drawing on different relations of power and solidarity as they exist within the local community and Iwokrama, and establishing new relationships between the two sets of participants; and, implicitly, as a means of socialisation through the naturalisation and reproduction of culturally specific attitudes and assumptions. These three roles correspond to Halliday's view of language as simultaneously ideational, interpersonal and textual (Halliday 1994, Chapters 3-5; Halliday and Hasan 1985 *passim*), a concept that will be developed in greater detail throughout the thesis. Through the interplay of these three roles, or *metafunctions* (Halliday 1994:35), systematic discourse patterns, or genres, have appeared within NRDDDB meetings as it has evolved as an institution. The evolution and development of suitable genres carries importance in that through the NRDDDB the communities are participants within the wider *Discourse of Development* at national and international level. Following Foucault (1978:94), this thesis develops the idea that power is not simply top-down but rather that it "unfolds in relation to local sites and subjects, and that participants in local sites are complicit and necessary for the playing out of power/knowledge relations" (Luke 1996:325). In these terms the positions negotiated within NRDDDB meetings will have repercussions beyond the limits of the institution and into the Discourse of Development at all levels<sup>6</sup>.

The vast majority of all discourse between the NRDDDB and Iwokrama is carried out in English and within institutional formats such as workshops and round-table discussions which are familiar to outside development bodies but novel to local communities. In this way, the majority of local participants are forced to discuss

crucial development issues and to negotiate interpersonal relations in a linguistic context far removed from their daily practice and in a language in which they have limited competence. Local contributions to the discourse of the NRDDDB are therefore diminished insofar as the use of English within institutional formats: (i) imposes limitations on both the reception and production strategies of those unaccustomed to those formats, especially those less competent in English; (ii) enhances the symbolic value of the dominant culture through the use of its language within prestigious domains; and (iii) constrains intercultural communication largely to the cultural context of the dominant bloc in which culturally-dependent representations, interpersonal roles and means of socialisation appear neutral and so become harder to challenge.

As stated above, however, during my time in the Rupununi I have witnessed the NRDDDB grow in stature and autonomy and become less of a conduit for official Iwokrama policy and more an extension of village-based community structures. In the last meeting I attended before leaving Guyana, the Chairman William Andries referred to it as “the Daddy of the whole home” (NRDDDB Meeting, Institute, 2/11/01). This thesis therefore does not set out to expose how the institutional format reinforces the discursive power differentials between the two groups, as I originally intended, but to explore how local communities have succeeded in developing a considerable measure of autonomy within these formats, significantly indigenising them, so that they are opened up to greater grassroots participation in a process which, completing a virtuous circle, further indigenises the format of meetings.

### **1.3 Theoretical bases and distinctive concerns.**

The principle concern of this thesis is to examine ways in which indigenous contributions to the Discourse of Development in Guyana might be enhanced and expanded. This entails looking at how local participants might have a stronger voice within the various discourse fora within the Discourse of Development. However, given what I have said above about how the use of English within institutional genres diminishes the effectiveness of local contributions and reproduces the values of the dominant culture, it follows that increased participation alone is not sufficient to

guarantee a genuinely indigenous voice within this Discourse. My thesis therefore also concentrates on the means of transmitting Makushi cultural values within these alien genres and, by doing so, bringing the institutions that employ them closer to Makushi concerns and ethics. Chapter 3 considers the relationship between language, mind and society to outline a theory of grammar based on cognitive and functional principles and develops a model of the relation between language and power, the transmission of dominant values, and the means of challenging these values through language.

In this regard the thesis shares the concerns of Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994; 1995) regarding the role of English as a global language and the perceived connection between linguistic expansionism and cultural and economic imperialism. But whereas Phillipson is concerned with the role of the English-language teaching enterprise within the grand narratives of history and Pennycook with the reframing of historical Discourses from a local perspective, the present thesis moves beyond their concerns with the politics of language to consider the language of politics and to explore how English may serve as a counter-hegemonic force not just in the classroom but throughout the practicalities of everyday life. In this respect I share many of the concerns of multilingual and multicultural educationalists such as Cummins (1996; 2000) and Hornberger and López (1998). However, while their primary objective is to create within minority settings such as the Rupununi a multilingual curriculum that fosters both the dominant and minority languages so as to achieve balanced bilingualism and improve the academic success of deprived pupils, the aim of this thesis is to examine and facilitate the development of a way of speaking in the dominant language and within non-local settings which nonetheless transmits the sociocultural systems of the minority group. In these terms, the language use I am advocating would fit within Bhabha's (1994) work on cultures in contact. Bhabha claims that cultures are dynamic rather than static and that within situations of cultural contact what is needed is not a retrenchment into oppositions but a process of dialogue in which each cultural group is sure of enough of its own cultural heritage to allow for crossover and cultural approximation. Bhabha refers to this cross-cultural dialogue as a *third space*. In the terms of this thesis the search for a linguistic third space means attempting to create discourse contexts in which aspects of both sociolinguistic traditions can be expressed and understood and in which the



two traditions work to find common ground where it exists, to create it where it does not, and to develop it to synergetic effect.

Accepting that English will be the language used within the majority of such contexts in Guyana - as Uncle Fred says (Tape 41, 22/6/02), *nobody gonna learn Makushi* - the development of a viable linguistic third space entails: an enhanced awareness from indigenous communities of their own culture, as with May's (1999a; 1999b; 2001) work on critical multiculturalism and minority language rights; participatory discussion of how cultural values are realised in discourse; and a reflexive and critical examination of how core concepts of the local culture can be realised through English in non-local settings. The roles to be played by community elders, the local school and external experts in this process are considered in greater depth in Chapter 9.

#### **1.4 Siting within the sociology of language.**

Central to all the concerns expressed above is the notion of *language as a social semiotic*, the term used by Halliday (1978) and others within the tradition of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to emphasise that:

all meanings are made within communities and that the analysis of meaning should not be separated from the social historical, cultural and political dimensions of these communities.

Lemke 1995:9

It is therefore a key notion in this thesis, which relates differences within cultural systems to differences in language use and considers how English might be used as a semiotic for other social systems. It was a burgeoning recognition that such a semiotic already existed that changed the direction of my thesis from a largely prescriptive to a more descriptive approach and that led me to acknowledge the existence and importance of those who already operate in this *linguistic third space*.

Deriving from the concept of language as a social semiotic are issues of *language and power*. Accepting that language use reflects social histories, then discourse between different groups represents the juxtaposition of different social systems which each

group seeks to put across in their own terms, terms they must therefore impose or negotiate. The concept of language as a social semiotic is therefore:

useful for studying meaning in a way that then enables us to see how the meanings we make function to sustain or challenge the relationships of power in our communities

Lemke 1995:9

Van Dijk (1997:7) takes the relationship between language, society and power to its logical conclusion to claim that “if any feature of context and society at large impinges on text and talk (and vice versa), it is power”. This might seem an extreme point of view but it is simply a claim that in all discourse representations of reality and interpersonal relationships are either accepted or negotiated, so that when discourse is related to society at large it becomes a site for either the common-sense acceptance and naturalisation of the prevailing ideology or a challenge to it.

The relation between language and power is a central concern of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). However, whereas CDA has been accused of dealing only with those examples of language and power where “the direction of social change is from the macro-social to the micro-social, from discursive formations to local discursive practice” (Erickson 2001:156), this thesis demonstrates that the pressure to conformity does not go uncontested and that speech patterns can change local contexts and the ideologies in which they are situated.

These notions of language as a social semiotic and the relationship between language and power raise questions of what it means to be a competent user of language and suggest that *linguistic competence* goes far beyond the ability to produce grammatically acceptable sentences to include the relationship between the form of utterances and the social context of their production, a concept that will be developed throughout the thesis. However, power within language is not entirely proportional to the linguistic competence of the speaker, for language forms that are associated with already powerful groups carry with them traces of the power of those groups. Bourdieu’s theory of *symbolic power*, or *symbolic capital*, describes the process by which those who have objective power, such as financial resources or a position of authority, achieve a level of prestige that is, in and of itself, as powerful as the

objective forces behind it: “it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to impose recognition” (Bourdieu 1990b:137-138). This means that within communicative events the objective power of the dominant group will lend to that group’s discourse, and hence their social system, a level of authority that “is never defined solely by the relation between the linguistic competences present” (Bourdieu 1991:72). In fora such as the NRDDb where the representation and negotiation of social issues and interpersonal relationships are at stake the repercussions are particularly serious as:

In the symbolic struggle for the production of common sense or, more precisely, for the monopoly over legitimate naming, agents put into action the symbolic capital that they have acquired in previous struggles and which may be juridically guaranteed. Thus titles of nobility, like educational credentials, represent true titles of symbolic property which give one a right to share in the profits of recognition... [I]n the determination of the objective classification and of the hierarchy of values granted to individuals or groups, not all judgements have the same weight, and holders of large amounts of symbolic capital... are in a position to impose the scale of values most favourable to their products - notably because, in our societies, they hold a practical de facto monopoly over institutions which, like the school system, officially determine and guarantee rank.

Bourdieu 1990b:135

Returning to Bhabha’s notion of the third space, in which each cultural group must be sure enough of its own cultural heritage to allow for crossover and cultural approximation, it is necessary for development fora to become arenas in which minority cultures can resist the momentum of the dominant order and recognise and promote their own symbolic capital if they are to be equal partners in the processes of “objective classification and of the hierarchy of values granted to individuals or groups”. Such a process might be labelled *empowerment*, and in this thesis the term refers not to the ability of individuals to ‘transcend’ their lowly sociolinguistic status and become accepted within the elite through a “selective and narrowing route to elite power” (Hornberger and López 1998:208), but to the ability of entire cultural and linguistic groups to alter in some way the dominant practices of society so as to improve their place within it and to facilitate the living out of life according to their own mores through “a universally available route to a pluralistic society” (Hornberger and López 1998:208).



Drawing on the notions of language as a social semiotic, linguistic competence and symbolic capital, then, *linguistic empowerment* necessitates not only an improvement in individuals' ability to use language to achieve an end, but also an increase in the symbolic capital of the groups' cultural system through their ways of speaking, whether these be through indigenous languages or specific ways of using a language of wider communication. The use of a once foreign language as a social semiotic might be deemed *appropriation* of that language system. Appropriation is Habermas's (1984) term for the process by which a cultural group absorbs aspects of outside cultures into their own way of life and accommodates them to their own needs.

Appropriation is not a rare phenomenon; however, it is only possible to appropriate a practice into a culture that can accommodate it, while the appropriation of this practice alters the culture it enters. For this reason this thesis does not refer to 'cultures' as if they were static products but to *cultural dynamics* as a coherent yet constantly adapting set of principles, as the *ideological system* that underlies the social life of a specific group of people (problems of reification of groups and practices are discussed in Chapter 2). Appropriation and Bhabha's third space are closely-linked concepts in that the third space represents an area of liminality (Rampton 1995, Chapter 3), an area set off from the everyday, which can act as a crucible for the temporary but intense renegotiation of relations between groups that leads to the more gradual absorption of external influences into each cultural system at large without provoking crises.

In discourse terms, the acceptance of new concepts, the fostering of a consensual approach to decision-making, and a potential for "critical evaluation in argumentation" has been labelled *communicative rationality* (Habermas 1984, in Cooke 1994:34). Communicative rationality is "open-ended" rather than reliant on "normative consensus" (Cooke 1994:29-30) and aims for the "creative reworking of inherited social resources" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:84). It is thus a discursive prerequisite for the opening up of a third space and the strategic appropriation of external practices.

Communicative rationality can be related to the pedagogical discourse between pupil and teacher through the concept of *transformative pedagogy*, an approach to education that:

uses collaborative critical enquiry to enable students to relate curriculum content to their individual and collective experience and to analyse broader social issues relevant to their lives. It also encourages students to discuss ways in which social realities might be transformed through various forms of democratic participation and social action.

Cummins 2000:90

In the terms of the above concepts, a major aim of this thesis is thus to suggest how a transformative pedagogy of English-language teaching might draw on instances of language use from within the liminal space of the NRDDDB to relate the concept of language as a social semiotic to issues of objective and symbolic power and to promote a linguistic competence that empowers cultural groups both through the appropriation of English as a social semiotic and through enhancing the prestige of local language forms and the cultural system that underlies them.

### **1.5 Siting within theoretical and descriptive linguistics.**

Much of this thesis is centred on the sociolinguistic analyses of texts and the relationship between the circumstances of their production and the language used within them. This is the primary concern of SFL, which describes how individual linguistic features are dependent upon the material, interpersonal and textual features of context through the lexicogrammar at the level of the clause and through the developing discourse semantics at the level of text. However, while this tradition demonstrates how social differences in power, for example, are instantiated in discourse, it does not usually attempt to explain the existence and significance of these differences within the wider sociopolitical context.

SFL thus provides the descriptive mechanisms for relating language use to issues of empowerment, and the salient features relating language to social structure as recognised within this tradition serve as the starting point for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA; n.b. Fairclough 1989), which sets out to explain how differences in

language use between interlocutors both reflect and reproduce power structures within the wider society. However, the jump made from relating language and setting to relating language and wider society brings with it some complications that are not always adequately addressed. At the level of utterance, for example, critical discourse analysts often assign a static social meaning to speech acts without considering the significance of contextualising features on the force of the act; while at the level of text, insufficient attention is paid to generic restrictions on production so that what are marked features within the language as a whole but conventional within a particular genre are given undue political significance in that context.

An alternative approach to analysing power in discourse is provided by Conversation Analysis (CA; e.g. Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998), which emphasises the textual means by which control over the discourse is achieved. However, if CDA can read too much political significance into the social relations of interlocutors then CA, in resolutely ignoring these differences unless they are explicit in the texts themselves, is guilty of assigning to purely linguistic control aspects of the text as action that relate to wider social relationships between interlocutors (this argument is developed in Chapter 4). In both cases, therefore, there is a need to situate readings of the text within a wider background of the relationship between language and society, or better, languages and societies, so as to understand more clearly the social meaning of contextualised utterances as behaviour. This is the concern of Anthropological Linguistics, a blanket term for disciplines such as the Ethnography of Speaking (n.b. Hymes 1977) and Interactional Sociolinguistics (n.b. Gumperz 1982). The object of Anthropological Linguistics, as defined by Duranti (1997:2), is “the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice” with a focus on “language as a set of symbolic resources that enter the constitution of social fabric and the individual representation of actual or possible worlds” (Duranti 1997:3). Anthropological Linguistics’ focus on language as a constituent of the social fabric and a resource for speakers thus provides a complementary approach to SFL’s focus on the determining effect of context on language, and this dynamic provides the theme for a fuller explication of the sociogrammatical theory behind the thesis in the Chapter 3.

## **1.6 Thesis.**

This thesis develops the following notions:

- (i) that the communities of the North Rupununi are facing a challenge to their cultural dynamics through the encroachment of more powerful, global norms and practices;
- (ii) that these outside forces cannot be ignored or avoided and, in order to counter ideological colonisation, social disintegration and anomie, aspects of the dominant system must be integrated into the local ideological system;
- (iii) that a process of empowerment that legitimates the voice of the local community within the wider Discourse of Development is essential in this regard;
- (iv) that such a legitimisation requires the competent use of a dominant language within the institutional genres of the Discourse of Development;
- (v) that language use is by default tied to the culture in which it has evolved so that the use within development fora of the language and genres of the dominant culture favours the transmission and reproduction of that culture;
- (vi) that community activists must therefore appropriate the dominant language and the institutional genres of development as a means of articulating their own cultural dynamic and creating a space for negotiation that is situated neither within the dominant system nor community practice, but in a third space accessible to both.

*Building on the above notions the thesis sets out to demonstrate:*

- (i) *that key members of the local community have already developed and are competent in a third-space linguistic practice within development fora;*

- (ii) *that this third-space practice is emancipatory, transforming the institutional fora in which local communities participate and thereby facilitating increased understanding and input;*
- (iii) *that this practice can be incorporated into a transformative approach to pedagogy and training methods for those involved in the development process that expand the emancipatory potential of the existing practice through analysis, reflection and transmission.*

### **1.7 The chapters that follow: Theory, description and analysis.**

Chapter 2 situates my thesis within the sociocultural context of the North Rupununi savannahs, drawing on existing sociological and anthropological sources, official data, my own field observations, and semi-structured interviews I carried out with key players in the development process from both the local communities and from Iwokrama. I draw on local descriptions of traditional modes of social organisation within Makushi communities and examine why these social structures are no longer viable. Mixing local voices with academic sources and official data I then look at government-led efforts to subsume the Rupununi within national economic and legal structures. The consequences of the Government's approach, which attempted to impose its will without bringing local communities into the discourse process, are discussed. The chapter then describes how the role of Iwokrama in the development process differs radically from that of the Government in that it considers as fundamental the need to integrate not only local and imported technologies, but also local, national and international voices. This approach notwithstanding, the chapter highlights some ongoing failings in discourse relations between the local communities and Iwokrama and suggests that greater power must be given to local communities to simultaneously choose the direction of their own development and to act to bring this process about. In this view of development the role of outsiders is to contribute expertise and to facilitate rather than determine the local communities' efforts. The chapter therefore links the communicative rationality necessary for indigenous development in Guyana; the appropriation of expertise from groups such as Iwokrama into the indigenous cultural dynamic; and the need for a discursive third space in which to carry out the local Discourse of Development. The chapter ends by



presenting the seeming paradox that the English of development, the social semiotic of an outside group, is being used to protect a cultural dynamic that is threatened by that same group.

Chapter 3 picks up on this paradox and questions it to develop a theory of grammar based on the idea that the notion of language as a social semiotic can be used not only to demonstrate that speakers in an alien context are at a disadvantage, but also to explain how these same speakers are able to impose themselves through their use of language and in so doing turn the context towards their own sociocultural norms.

Chapter 4 discusses some of the ongoing debates over the analysis of language and power and outlines the approach I will take.

Chapter 5 begins a series of textual analyses and looks at three key legal documents in the development process. The analysis of these three documents demonstrates the different attitudes of the Government towards the role of Amerindian communities in their own development and the role of Iwokrama as an outside agency. This analysis employs an enhanced SFL/CDA methodology to map the participant roles legally attributed to the two groups and shows a consistent and significant difference in the Government's construal of the two groups' level of autonomous action within the development process.

Chapter 6 provides further textual analysis in considering the dynamics of real-time discourse within an Iwokrama-led workshop on the one hand and various NRDDDB meetings on the other. Whereas the static product analysis of the legal documents allowed for the mapping of Government construals of different participants in the development process, these analyses employ a sequential analysis of discourse strategies to demonstrate who has control over the form and content of discussions as they unfold over time. The first analysis demonstrates how local perceptions of the nature of the workshop as an event (the transmission of imported knowledge) enhance Iwokrama's symbolic capital to such an extent that local participants fail to control the discourse as an activity. In contrast, the analysis of various texts taken from NRDDDB meetings over a two-year period demonstrate the increasing control over

proceedings by community leaders and the means they use to draw on the knowledge and authority of different participants as appropriate.

Chapter 7 is a genre analysis of contributions to an NRDDDB meeting from an Iwokrama representative and a local community elder as they attempt to explain the concept of Sustainable Utilisation Areas (SUAs) to those assembled. The analysis shows that while the Iwokrama speaker sticks to the institutionalised discourse strategies of development fora, the local speaker contextualises his explanation in relation to his audience's knowledge and experiences; draws on both imported and local knowledge systems in explaining the concept; and moves between external and community-based power relations in reinforcing his message. The conclusion is that the local speaker manages not only to explain the concepts behind SUAs more effectively than his Iwokrama counterpart, but that he has also brought the context of discourse closer to indigenous norms, a process that removes awe from the NRDDDB as an institution and fosters greater collaboration from other local participants.

Chapter 8 develops the idea, emerging from the previous two chapters, that power relations in the development discourse of the North Rupununi are not dichotomous oppositions of dominant against dominated. I analyse descriptions of the development process from three variously-positioned participants to reveal the ideologies of power that underlie their accounts and to develop a model of the complementary workings of these different modes of power.

Chapter 9 considers the model of power relations developed in Chapter 8 as a possible blueprint for developing third space discourse within the terms of the key concerns of the thesis. Possible applications of this model and the analyses of Chapters 6 to 8 are considered: (i) for developing existing third-space discourse in the Rupununi; (ii) for discourse practice in international development in general; and (iii) as part of a second-language curriculum based on transformative pedagogy.

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<sup>1</sup> One small community, Fair View, is entirely within the Iwokrama Forest.

<sup>2</sup> The usual terms "western", "European", "modern" or "scientific" knowledge are all inappropriate here. Guyana is west of Europe, which is by no means the sole source of this knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is also scientific, though based on different paradigms from imported knowledge, and much work is being done to integrate indigenous knowledge with imported systems so that it is both modern as well as traditional.

<sup>3</sup> In fact the majority of the population speak various levels of the Guyanese creole Creolese.



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<sup>4</sup> Touchaus, or captains, are elected village leaders.

<sup>5</sup> "Uncle" is a general term of respect for elders and distinguished figures in Guyanese communities.

<sup>6</sup> For Foucault (1972 *passim*) "Discourses" comprise socially sanctioned partitionings of knowledge. I will use a capital D to distinguish such Discourses from discourse as ongoing linguistic exchanges between two or more interlocutors.

## **Chapter Two: Approaches to Discourse and Development.**

### **2.1 Introduction to the Discourse of Development in the North Rupununi**

My contention in this thesis is that speakers from minority cultures<sup>1</sup> have greater difficulties than speakers from dominant, often transnational, cultures in having their voices heard and their worldviews legitimated even in discursive contexts that relate directly and specifically to issues that affect their wellbeing and development and about which they possess a unique knowledge. Based on my fieldwork with the Makushi people of Guyana, this chapter attempts to connect the recent socioeconomic history of these people with the history of discursive relations between them and other sectors involved in their development and to suggest that systems that fail to include the Makushi as *legitimate speakers* (Bourdieu 1977, in Norton 2000:69) in deciding upon and controlling their own development fail to bring about that development in any equitable and sustainable way.

For this reason, it seems appropriate to begin with Makushi voices and to hear how key local actors approach the issues of communication, autonomy and development that the thesis interconnects. The text that follows introduces several issues that will be discussed in this chapter and throughout the thesis, but equally as importantly introduces prominent local actors as they take part in the very practices they are discussing. Of interest, then, are not just the views they articulate, but also the way they articulate these views and the interactive roles they negotiate for themselves within the unfolding discourse.

The text comes from an Iwokrama-sponsored workshop organised to formulate a Community Management Plan in which Iwokrama representatives led discussion with and among local communities on local issues and the systematisation of resource management based on both traditional and imported knowledge. This workshop was also my introduction to the Discourse of Development in the North Rupununi within the institutional framework of the NRDDb, and the transcript is of one of my first recordings. It introduces major players in the Discourse, from both 'sides' and many of the dominant and recurring themes they discuss, as well as illustrating a typical institutional setting

within the development context, the workshop. Although this is a format more familiar within the dominant culture, in this case it nonetheless draws on the cultural resources of both sets of interactants. These are key features in the analyses of this Discourse throughout the thesis.

The indigenous voices heard here are both prominent members of Toka village, where the workshop is taking place. William Andries (**W** in the transcript) is a native Makushi speaker who has learned English through the school system and local interaction. He is the son of a shaman (or *shama man*), and an activist in the radical Amerindian group the Amerindian People's Association (APA). He became Chairman of the NRDDDB some time after the workshop. Eugene Isaacs (**Eu**), though a native of Toka, was educated on the Coast and speaks English as his first language. He has been Touchau (elected chief) of Toka and was Touchau of Touchaus for the Rupununi area. He is also a pastor within the village, in the same church as William, and is a frequent and vocal contributor to the NRDDDB from the floor. The text also introduces two prominent voices from Iwokrama. Dr Graham Watkins (**Gr**) is the Senior Wildlife Biologist within Iwokrama, but he has also been responsible for setting up community participation structures and is a major contributor to NRDDDB. Simone Mangal (**S**) is a social scientist particularly involved in community development and the workshop from which the text is taken was her project. At this time she had recently joined Iwokrama and, unlike Graham, was not well known in the communities, though she was later a frequent contributor to the NRDDDB and other workshops. The text is part of a feedback session on earlier discussions and references are made to flipcharts written up during those discussions. For transcription conventions see page xvi.

**Text 2.1. (From Tape 7, Toka, 18/4/00. Management Workshop.)**

- 1       **Gr:**    *Added to that, then, there's the whole question of (who owns) agriculture,*
- 2               *we talked about (xx) and (xx)...Another one was the land, the whole*
- 3               *question of the relationship between Toka and the Government and what*
- 4               *land was available for use...and that's tied in with (xxx), tied in with long-*
- 5               *term security...?*
- 6       **Eu:**    *That's..that should be tied in to ownership of other resources like water,*
- 7               *(xxx)...*
- 8       **Gr:**    *Ownership and use of management (product). Management (rights xx).*
- 9               *(pp)*
- 10             *The target (h)as communication we've got in...which I think comes into*
- 11             *the first thing, that's called mechanisms= =how..>how your views can be*

- 12 reflected both< with the government, with UNDP, with Iwokrama, with  
 13 everybody.  
 14 (pp) ((some mumbling))  
 15 Another big one...we've seen...that seems to affect a lot of things is creek,  
 16 your ideas of creek management...(detay) reforestation.  
 17 **Eu:** I think it's a whole restoration process.  
 18 **Gr:** Restoration (xxxx)?  
 19 **Eu:** Not only that. But the (xxxx). Because of cultural restoration. Maybe  
 20 you couldn't finance that, you know? Because what we find there's  
 21 disadvantage when we've been government, erm, driven programmes,  
 22 they've been..financially supported properly..and our erm programmes are  
 23 not, traditional ways are not supported so. They have an advantage right  
 24 away there (xx) find that.. they actually killing...government is (xx) not  
 25 knowing (they) erm killing culture.  
 26 **S:** °Not knowing? °  
 27 **?:** °(xx) °  
 28 (ppp)  
 29 **Gr:** I'm not sure if this doesn't (xxxx) my interpretation.  
 30 **Eu:** (What your interpretation is?)  
 31 ((Interference, pauses and muttering.))  
 32 I think one of the things we have to do (actually) is we have to  
 33 be...(adventure, you know) with a (pi xx). When we develop plans that  
 34 erm..the government na see it as being, you know,  
 35 complementary...complementary with the present development strategies  
 36 of the government, so..we're not supported, but it should be supported,  
 37 (na?)  
 38 **Gr:** But this comes back again to this whole question of whether or not  
 39 anybody's listening to what you're saying. Which doesn't appear to be the  
 40 case. At all levels. Sometimes because before in our communities they  
 41 don't know how to listen. Sometimes they're just not terribly interested in  
 42 listening.  
 43 (p)  
 44 **S:** °(xxxx) °if this comes back to the whole question of land rights and what  
 45 that means. Uhm..what sort of autonomy do you have over your land, °  
 46 (xxx) °, these for now (13 legal) square miles, what sort of autonomy does  
 47 that give you..and what you can do with that land and not do with that  
 48 land an' whose business is it. Erm, how do you manage that land..whose  
 49 /biz/- ah, all these things need planning=  
 50 **Eu:** =but let's talk [about self-gov..governance]  
 51 **S:** [a number of things] erm=  
 52 **Gr:** =(gotta find out yer)=  
 53 **S:** =we're not talking about political governance, sovereignty, we're talking  
 54 about [(xxx governance)]  
 55 **Eu:** [but that's what we're] talking about, being able to (them thing),  
 56 control and to manage the different (xxerity).  
 57 **Gr:** We talked about=  
 58 **Eu:** =community





- 108 things..erm, so, it seems like a lot of the strategy is to (stays more in), take  
 109 them back..and at those levels, through development of (xxx). This  
 110 relationship with the government, though, seems to be..(devolved???),  
 111 especially when it comes to village authority structures. Some people on  
 112 the one hand feel that's it's important to keep having external input,  
 113 through the police and and things like that because there are issues within  
 114 the village that are not handled °through the (xx). °
- 115 **W:** We other plan is that we want to (produce) a proposal.
- 116 **Gr:** Proposal for wha:t?
- 117 **W:** Some form of (xxxx)
- 118 **Eu:** Was it better ↑communication, or ↓information?  
 119 °((unclear talk/muttering)) °
- 120 **W:** °I think it's somewhere about there. ° To get through with some  
 121 management plan °down there °  
 122 (long pause) ((more ?searching))
- 123 **Gr:** When we were talking about communications system?
- 124 **Eu:** (xxx we) proposal and we talked about setting up a plan..or someting.
- 125 **S:** °(the plan) was on.. °  
 126 (p)
- 127 **W:** (xxx).  
 128 (p)
- 129 **Eu:** °educational (xx). °  
 130 (p) ((sporadic and quiet background talk))
- 131 **(Side B)**
- 132 **S:** (it has to be= =for example) the children are seeing and learning from  
 133 people who are [(x x x x x x x x x x)]
- 134 **Eu:** [No, but which culture exists..]which one is dominating?  
 135 Western culture or Makushi culture?
- 136 **S:** Well, [it's not= =it wasn't a discussion of the cult-=
- 137 **Eu:** [(x x x x x x x x)]
- 138 **Gr:** =(or where to start), then, I mean think of it, do you need help? Do  
 139 that. And it comes up later on, we actually did some, spent some time  
 140 talking about it, but it's really quite a large issue, because if anybody's  
 141 coming in here, UNDP and everybody else...I mean Iwokrama is supposed  
 142 to be some sort of model organisation, if it /kn/..show..other people what is  
 143 the right way (to get)= =if the right way is not ..not..to reduce the amount  
 144 of time that people have to spend, extra, to do this kind of..thing, then th-  
 145 that would be excellent, that'd be a really big step forward, for Iwokrama.  
 146 (p)
- 147
- 148 **W:** I think that..I mean after they did this..this is a starting point and you  
 149 really (depends) on how much time you put in, it could, er, do good for  
 150 the..the future (one)..and I think that we have to be aware of, er, the time  
 151 do it, (we're looking at) that we can (xx) for individuals at this time of the  
 152 year, but I think we should, erm, have a long (xxx) this.
- 153 **Eu:** You see, what is..what's good about this is that here Iwokrama's come  
 154 into the community, that's one of the big..that thing is the big question, if  
 155 we have this workshop in the community..you have more people from the

- 156 community, being around, you know, so then it means that people can  
 157 actually say (x), saying it in front of people (can) object, right then, rather  
 158 than you go and say something then (come back), in those cases if you  
 159 reject the plan the process might not continue, see, you've gotta accept it.  
 160 Well, the next thing that worries me is the definition of..of=of development.  
 161 Hmm? It's that up here we've got our own definition, we understand this  
 162 as we development, but then that might not be the same thing, we have the  
 163 (x)of indigenous communities.
- 164 **Gr:** (xx) come back to whether or not the development agencies, including  
 165 Iwokrama, are listening to what the (players) have to say. (xxx) And what  
 166 are the mechanisms for being able to listen. (p) By having you in here are  
 167 we really listening to the community? (p) That's another question,  
 168 because this is the problem with the Board, I mean listening to what the  
 169 Board says, is that really listening to what the people want, the whole  
 170 system needs (to remodel) to do that.
- 171 **Eu:** You see the other thing is that community changes from community to  
 172 community [.....] and the whole..tries to like put it to a general consensus
- 173 **S:** [yeah]
- 174 **Eu:** (xx) that might not be effective for aal communities. (p) Basically.
- 175 **S:** I th[ink that] we have, uhm (p) we're aware at Iwokrama that
- 176 **Gr:** [xxx]
- 177 **S:** workshops are perhaps not the best way to actually work with the  
 178 communities, uhm, and this is a starting point, your management plan,  
 179 which is..it's really just a starting point, an impression of what's the best  
 180 way to move forward on..the methodology perspective, this is a big one  
 181 and that requires a lot of input from.. ↘you in terms of what you think  
 182 works or doesn't work, what's a good time and a bad time...things like  
 183 that...erm, we really should discuss, when we start discussing the way  
 184 forward.  
 185 ((general grunts of consent))
- 186 **Eu:** I think we had some discussions in the group=
- 187 **Gr:** =there were [(xxx)]
- 188 **Eu:** [(xxx)] the whole thing's not done in a (rik) workshop,  
 189 workshops are good....right? and it helps. But in a workshop it may not be  
 190 good for the whole community, in a workshop's, um, ↘style, or ↗approach,  
 191 may not be the thing for the community, though it might be a good thing  
 192 for a subregion or a sub-district, right?..but when you come back down..if  
 193 you come back with the information you just find one educated person  
 194 coming back, somebody (who) knowledge, when that knowledge doesn't  
 195 filter out to the other people so.
- 196 **S:** Right.
- 197 **Eu:** It's like a wasted time. And then if you allow the people to operate and  
 198 to disseminate that information..in- in their way, using their methodology,  
 199 then you find °things might °...you get more.....
- 200 **S:** °right °
- 201 **Eu:** And that is one of the things that our, erm..environmental club was based  
 202 on. Having more people involved to talk to the people, so that information  
 203 can (go up).
- 204 **Gr:** (xx) we've come back to this communication, but it..it's tied in tightly to



205 *this whole concept of...of whose/who's...of outsiders working with*  
 206 *communities and how that's done, and also this question of methods=*  
 207 *=and in fact tied into benefit sharing too. (p) Erm, a'right, how...how we*  
 208 *((tape turned off))*

As stated above, the aim of this chapter is to connect the history of discourse between the Makushi and outside development groups with the history of their socioeconomic development and throughout this thesis texts will be exploited both for their content and as linguistic exemplars. Text 2.1 is important, therefore, not only in terms of the important questions raised within it by the various participants on the topics of culture, autonomy, communication and development, but also in that, as an activity, it is an example in process of the issues it seeks to resolve. As an activity, and in keeping with the overall aim of the thesis, the text can be analysed with respect to the relationship between its social setting and the linguistic features it displays. After Halliday and Hasan (1985:12), the three variables that relate contextual features to linguistic features are (i) the nature of social action that is taking place; (ii) the participants themselves and the various relationships of role and status between them, whether permanent or taken on in context; and (iii) the social role language itself plays in the interaction, its purpose as goal-oriented behaviour, and its means of transmission. These contextual variables motivate the *field*, *tenor* and *mode of discourse*<sup>3</sup>.

The field of discourse comprises both the focus of discussion (Eggins 1994:68) and the level of specialisation of terminology, on a continuum from “technical specialised” to “commonsense (everyday)” (Eggins 1994:71). The tenor of discourse refers to the way these concepts are presented as exchanges in discourse through the use of finite tense and modal auxiliaries and through the turn-taking roles negotiated and the formality and directness of language used, with these features being prompted by the “social role relationships played by interactants” (Eggins 1994:63). The mode of discourse refers to “the role language is playing in an interaction” (Eggins 1994:53). In this definition the text is as much a participant as the interlocutors as it is “simultaneously a level of realisation and an element in the contextual configuration” (Leckie-Tarry 1995:70). The mode of discourse comprises the role of language as *channel* of communication (written, spoken, e-mail, etc.), and the extent to which language *per se* constitutes the activity in hand: entirely, as in the case of a story, for example; or in conjunction with other aspects

of the context, as with commentaries or commands (Cloran 2000:175). Mode also includes the *socialisation context of speech*: whether a text is intended to be primarily instructional, regulatory, interpersonal or imaginative (Cloran 1999:45-46). Between them, field, tenor and mode define the *register* of a stretch of discourse. They are not discrete variables in that in terms of both the motivating context and the linguistic features motivated, alteration in one variable *perturbs* the features of the other variables and, by extension, changes in context perturb the register and changes in register perturb the context. This interrelationship will be a key tenet of the thesis later on; for now, the following broad-strokes analysis illustrates various features of register and brings out some of the interrelations between these features and between the register and the context of a text.

In terms of the mode of discourse, Text 2.1 is largely spoken, though salient points are being written up on a flipchart, and the role of language moves between Plans and Conjectures, Recounts, Reflections and Generalisations on community life, the development process and the role of outsiders (capitalised functions relate to Cloran's [2000:175] table of Rhetorical Units within mode, see Appendix 2). Language is used mainly for instructional purposes.

In terms of field of discourse, Text 2.1 introduces several of the key sociological issues that underlie this thesis and touches directly upon the linguistic concerns as well. The level of terminology lies somewhere on the midpoint of the continuum between everyday and specialist. The text also shows very clearly how the field under discussion is not a static core of inherently related concepts, but something to be negotiated and contested in terms of both the general topic of discussion and the meaning and connotations of the key terms themselves. At the beginning of Text 2.1, for example, Graham introduces the topic of "the land" (1-5) and relates this to long-term security (4-5), management (8) and issues of communication (10-13). Eugene, however, changes the direction of *semantic development* when he announces (17):

*I think it's a whole restoration process.*

and steers the topic towards the more contentious issues of funding for Government-led development and the resulting acculturation (19-25) of the local population, a theme which Graham relates back to communications (38-42) and Simone then develops in the direction of autonomy and legal rights (44-49). From here on, each of these speakers picks up on aspects of the others' themes and adapts them towards their own. As we have seen, Graham picks up on the notion of autonomy and turns it back to communications issues, while Eugene attempts to introduce the key term "community-based" (58&100) into the definition of autonomy, in line with his ideas on cultural restoration. Simone picks up on the term "community" (100) to direct the discussion back to issues of power and control (101-114) by emphasising how the Government has wrested authority from the communities. By the end of Text 2.1, Graham seems to be winning out as the emphasis of the discourse is on communications (132-207), but Eugene is still able to bring in intercultural issues (134-135), while Simone introduces methodological considerations (177-184) and William brings up practical concerns relating to community participation (148-152).

The tenor of Text 2.1, the way speakers speak to each other, is a function of the complementary manifestations of status and power that the different speakers represent both within their own cultural backgrounds and NRDDDB-Iwokrama interaction; the familiarity they have with each other; and the solidarity that comes from a common goal but that is weakened by the participants' different approaches towards this goal. This all results, in broad strokes, in a tenor of frank expressions of disagreement tempered with deference and an informal tone within a semi-formal framework of turn-taking that nonetheless allows for interruptions and overlaps.

This ambivalence in the tenor, as different modes of power come into contact, can be seen in that there are few direct questions or elicitations (line 30 is a rare example): nearly all the utterances are declarative statements, while the use of rhetorical questions from Eugene, for example, serves to reintroduce his key themes as much as to cede the floor (75-76; 100; 134-135). Similarly, participants consistently use hedges, particularly "I think" (e.g. 10; 17; 32; 175), to introduce points of view and so soften the blow of diverting the focus towards their own areas of concern. However, hedging disappears at several key points in the contestation of the field and there is a clear breakdown in turn-

taking procedures at these points. Lines 49 to 59 and lines 75 to 101 are characterised by interruptions and overlaps that are largely missing from the rest of the text as each speaker seeks to impose their own definition on the key concept of autonomy/governance/sovereignty. These critical points are also reflected in the mode of the discourse as language turns towards more introspective Commentaries (Cloran 2000:175) on the discourse process itself, with Eugene (50&55), Simone (53-54) and Graham (57) one after the other explicitly directing or stating what is being talked about:

50. **Eu:** =*but let's talk [about self-gov..governance]*  
 51. **S:** [a number of things] erm=  
 52. **Gr:** =(gotta find out yer)=  
 53. **S:** =*we're not talking about political governance, sovereignty, we're talking*  
 54. *about [(xxx governance)]*  
 55. **Eu:** [but that's what *we're*] *talking about, being able to (them thing), control*  
 56. *and to manage the different (xxerity).*  
 57. **Gr:** *We talked about*=  
 58. **Eu:** =community

The participants employ a range of rhetorical means in their attempts to control the semantic development of the discourse here: Eugene's inclusive command (50) to direct the talk; Simone's contrasting Rheme structure (53-54) to contest Eugene's command; Eugene's defining clause (55) to get it back on track; and Graham's past declarative (57) to serve as a justification for present action. In general, the language at this point would seem to be regulative rather than instructional in mode, in that is aimed at modifying behaviour rather than providing information for its own sake.

What becomes clear throughout the text is that although there is broad consensus on both the general topic of discussion and the interactional roles of the different participants, they clearly have different takes on what is most relevant to the topic. Similarly, despite the superficially democratic nature of proceedings, the Iwokrama representatives speak more often and generally for longer and tend to lead the discussion, or at least sanction particular paths, as when Eugene introduces the notion of 'culture' (134-136). In some ways, then, the field and tenor of discourse in this text can be said to introduce *tensions* into the workshop format, and the tensions apparent here over who has the right to speak when and who defines the range and specifics of the field of discourse are reflections in



microcosm of the very issues that the participants are discussing as they relate to the wider Discourse of Development and which are the core concern of this thesis.

The registerial variables of a text taken together with its goal constitute a *genre* (Martin 1992:495, though many use the term differently<sup>4</sup>), such as the distinctive 'workshop genre' of Text 2.1. Genres related by field form a Discourse, such as the Discourse of Development, and these Discourses vary according to both the contexts in which they are situated and the contexts that are situated within them: different cultural contexts produce different Discourses, so that the Guyanese Discourse of Development will differ from African Discourses of Development, for example; while the nature of specific *institutions* within these cultures, such as the NRDDb, will refract these Discourses in their own way, as will individual *situations* within these institutional settings. In this way, the workshop genre of which Text 2.1 is an example might be very different from workshop genres within other cultural contexts, and even from workshops within different institutional settings within the Rupununi. These different levels of sociocultural context, their relationship to each other, and the effect they have on the communicative events within them will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Returning to Text 2.1, as a contribution to the wider Discourse of Development, and attempting to understand the relationship between socioeconomic development and discourse relations, the immediate question is: Why this Discourse, here, thus, and now?

## **2.2 Sociocultural Context: Why this Discourse here, thus, and now?**

Over the last fifty years, improved infrastructure, modern communication systems and the globalisation of capital mean that the context of Makushi life has changed at a rate not witnessed since the arrival of the Europeans five hundred odd years ago. Where once the Makushi people's location on the fringes of Guyana meant that their environment and the subsistence livelihoods they drew from it changed little and the social structures that maintained their way of life went almost unchallenged, the recent encroachment of external factors and actors has provoked a crisis in the local socioculture as it comes head to head with the juggernaut of 'modernity'. The accelerated integration of the Makushi

people into national and international systems of organisation and control not only has ethical implications in terms of cultural rights<sup>5</sup>, but also threatens the material and social wellbeing of the communities affected as the underpinnings of their socioeconomic system lose their coherence, a coherence which the modern system fails to replicate. This section examines how the *symbolic and material culture*<sup>6</sup> of the Makushi people had become increasingly unsustainable in a rapidly modernising sociocultural context and how, as a consequence, the interpersonal relations of authority and solidarity that held the system together, the *face systems*<sup>7</sup>, and the network of discourses that reproduce cultural norms, the *socialisation system*, were severely disrupted and lost much of their relevance. The rest of the chapter then looks at the limited success of subsequent efforts to meld the traditional culture of the Makushi with modern systems in a coherent and sustainable fashion, relating the socioeconomic failures of such projects to failures in intercommunication, in its broadest terms, between indigenous groups and their would-be developers.

First a caveat, however. Describing 'the meeting of two cultures' introduces the temptation to essentialise and reify each individually as well as the meeting itself. This would be to ignore the fact that cultures are neither discretely bounded nor static. Forte (1996a:56-57) highlights the dangers of reification in the Guyanese context when she calls for a demystification within national and international discourse of the 'noble savage' myth:

the rhetoric of homeostasis and the 'oneness of indigenous peoples with nature'... can distort the complexity of Amerindian societies by reifying individual societies into a presocial, natural state of being rather than recognising their rights to exist, reproduce themselves, and participate in contemporary historical processes.

According to Forte (1996b:8-9), since gaining its independence Guyana has needed a notion of 'the other' to break its dependence on its European past (and hence the vast majority of the population's history as slaves and bonded labour), and the 'Amerindian' has come to fill this role. However, if this construction is to be perpetuated, the 'Amerindian' must remain distinctly 'exotic' in relation to the 'Europeanised' majority. Thus, paradoxically, the Amerindians "are considered by other Guyanese to possess a



non-Guyanese culture” (Sanders 1976:117) and are “despised by the lower strata of Coastland society...and regarded paternalistically by the higher strata” (Sanders 1976:119). Reification means, therefore, to the Amerindians at least, that they are “identified in racial terms...[and] oppressed by other low status groups in the society” (Sanders 1976:141).

A better model of ‘cultures’ is that of dynamic systems that develop according to their own internal logic, with each mutation altering the sum and balance of this logic and so affecting the potential for further change. In these terms it is possible to talk of distinct cultural dynamic systems as opposed to discrete cultures and to set up a model for cultural integration. These notions are explicitly recognised by Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00):

*Well..I don't see, you see like I said, it's like in a transition, right? But then, if you take a transition in one way, in the western way, then you finished being a Makushi, right? You don't want that, right? But what I am saying, there are certain things that we have, that we've had to do without over the years, and I'm sure that our culture is not exactly like our foreparents' was, and so you find, and it happens around the world, that certain aspects of culture goes as other things are adopted (that we took) from a different culture. But it might be because somebody has found some better way of doing something, right? Over the years that would become the new trend, as the old one dies. Still the person remains who they are.*

While essentialism is inherently dangerous, in that it can lead to superficial conclusions with far-reaching material consequences, ethnographers can draw on what Spivak (1990 in Rattansi 1999:97) calls *strategic essentialism*. In much the same way as a grammatical description of a language relies on the best straight line drawn through a system that is consistent neither in time nor space, Rattansi (1999:103) concedes, despite his aversion to essentialising metanarratives, that it is not possible “to do without relatively general frameworks of interpretation,” although he stresses that these “have to be well aware of their historical specificity and their cultural boundedness [as being from the interpreter’s viewpoint] and the need to accommodate constant revision.”

Bearing both this escape clause and its attendant caveats in mind, the following portrait of the impact of modernity on the Makushi cultural dynamic draws not on the reifications and essentialisations of my own culturally-bound viewpoint, but on those of the Makushi

actors themselves. This does not guarantee that these reflections are 'true' in any absolute sense, especially as they were often elicited in terms of my worldview, through semi-structured interviews, and are always framed in my terms. But as social reality is largely a social construct, and a construct that motivates action (as will be discussed in Chapter 3), actors' perceptions of reality are as important as any objective statistics, which themselves are little more than a particular take on reality both in terms of their form (the subjective criteria for framing and categorisation) and their content (the subjective presentation and interpretation of 'facts'). Bruner (1986:122) puts it in terms that will resonate throughout this thesis:

Once one takes the view that a culture itself compromises an ambiguous text that is constantly in need of interpretation by those who participate in it, then the constitutive role of language in creating social reality becomes a topic of practical concern.

From local accounts, it would seem that Makushi culture was formerly sustained and reproduced through an equilibrium of knowledge and power that vested authority in the hands of the few, with the remainder of the population becoming obedient to the strictures imposed upon them through a process of mythologisation of these strictures and their acceptance as normative consensus - what Bourdieu and Passeron (1990:5) would call their *misrecognition* as such. Uncle Fred, ex-jaguar-hunter, elder statesmen of Surama village, and a founding father of the NRDDB, vividly describes this conjunction of expertise and power within an absolutist mode of instruction/regulation (Tape 41, Surama Rest House, 22/6/02):

*Yes, our foreparents had their...their system and it wasn't something written, it was something passed from generation to generation, from father to son, from mother to daughter. And they had certain beliefs, and some still carry the belief, but the problem now is most of that traditional knowledge and belief is lost. You see for instance there are certain places where the ancient people never wanted you to go and hunt or fish or if there's a place where they know, they knew the breeding areas, swamplands, they knew the wetlands were the breeding grounds for these certain species, and they would have that as a taboo, you can't go there and hunt, they tell you if you go there, something would happen to you, and if you insist, somebody is a daredevil and wants to go and rove it, they would set up their, what you call the shama man, the piyai man, and he would organise with one of these guys who can imitate the kanaima [shape-changer], and he'd dress and give the guy a good fright, and they never go back there, and then he would go and say, "Indeed there is something there," and that kept them away.*

Cooke (1994:29-30), after Habermas, labels as *conventional* such modes of *communicative action* where “[w]hat counts as good reason may be determined in advance, and inflexibly, by the traditions and the normative consensus prevailing in a given society or community” (Cooke 1994:29). Again following Habermas (1984), Cooke (1994:30), sees these modes as counter-developmental and to be replaced by a post-conventional *communicative rationality*, defined as “critical and open-ended”. However, in the case of the Makushi, while the myths that regulated community practice are no longer generally misrecognised as consensus and the authority of the piai man is diminished, new ways are yet to be found to replicate the social purpose of this authority in maintaining livelihoods. As Uncle Fred (Tape 41, Surama Rest House, 22/6/02) puts it:

*The hardest thing for the community to face is to retain their culture, their... their traditional way of life. You cannot... they would not be able to retain it 100%, but at least you can retain the important part of it. The change, it drift away to the modern life, the developed way of life, it's like a moth drawn to the fire, you see. And it's difficult. I mean you have to teach them to prepare themselves to cope with that way of life that is going to meet them. It's like you are preparing for a tornado or a hurricane. So when it hits you, you can withstand it. You put the shutters up.*

One reason for the dissipation of the piai men's authority is that knowledge is now more evenly shared within the community. Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00) describes this change, echoing Uncle Fred's own comments:

*...the old man used to say there is a mermaid in that pond, you mustn't go in there, that they were actually preserving the fish... But those old people don't know that, but I, my knowledge, now I could look at it, know there was nothing in there because I went there and caught fish, plenty of fishes, and I know the old people actually put that in there, but then you can actually go back and when you go back and you start studying this, the shama man, they should get a lot of (xxx) knowledge in the shama man, (xx) that's untouched, you don't get that so. That's untouch so far. But when you go and look at how they operate, right, the things that they do, the things that they say, and you could see that they actually instil that fear if they don't want a certain pond to be like affected or so, they would tell you well so and so, so and so would happen and this will happen. But when you know, you know somebody like me would know that wouldn't happen.*

Another reason underlying the change in authority systems is the change of social context

brought about by the encroachment of outsiders, the multiplication of issues to be regulated, and the increased complexity of these. This has led to the need for the *specialisation* of knowledge (Berger and Luckmann 1966:95) and the spreading out of authority amongst many experts rather than its concentration in the hands of the shama men. In contrast to this traditional system as portrayed by Uncle Fred and Eugene, the local community now see the need to form specialist committees to exploit fishing resources, for example, and to monitor depletion of stocks in conjunction with government authorities and international advice and funding (Field Data, NRDDDB, 3/3/01). Yet while such efforts represent a move towards Habermas's communicative rationality, in many more spheres of community life the disappearance of conventional authority has left behind it a vacuum, a vacuum which many parties, not all of them benevolent, are willing to fill. The following sections look at some of the failed attempts to fill this vacuum and demonstrate why the Discourse of Development, as exemplified in Text 2.1, is essential here and now.

### **2.3 Paternalism, passive genocide, or a backward kind of development?**

This section looks at changes to the Makushi way of life as communities have become drawn into wider economic and social structures which cannot be controlled by means of conventional authority in the shape of shama men and elders. It argues that the imported authority structures that fill the vacuum that this has left are neither responsive to indigenous needs nor related to the cultural dynamic of the communities in a way that would allow for the development of the traditional ideological system. Rather, they represent an attitude of paternalism from the Government and other development agencies, who consider that they know what is best for indigenous communities and seek to impose their own development models with little regard for existing ideologies. As a result, the disruption of the local economy, the transformation of social relations and the evaporation of community-based authority continue, with a decline in any one having negative repercussions on each.

### 2.3.1 Economic relations.

To date, despite the encroachment of state control and the globalisation of capital, most Amerindian labour remains tied to traditional forms, concentrated on subsistence activities with the indigenous population living to all intents and purposes outside the cash economy (NDS 2000:277; Forte 1996a:16). However, in an attempt to integrate the Amerindian population into the mainstream economy, various Guyanese and international aid programmes in the area have been promoting microindustries through the funding of infrastructure, financial training and the setting up of local credit unions. Such attempts at cash crops have failed in the past through lack of business organisation, and even as I write hundreds of pounds of peanuts, the product of an ongoing NGO-sponsored scheme, are sitting marketless at the wrong end of the Rupununi-Georgetown road. Repeated failures such as these have made Amerindian communities reluctant to experiment with the cash economy and only about 1% are self-employed in fishing, manufacturing, mining and quarrying (NDS 2000:277; Forte 1996a:16). In the few cases where the market economy has made inroads and people have surplus cash, the wider consequences are not always seen as benefiting the community as a whole. Uncle Fred (Tape 41, Surama Rest House, 22/6/02) for one is cynical and sees the cash economy as eroding both labour practices and the knowledge base of the community:

*Development is a process that teaches you to want something you don't need. And if you look at the youths today, very few wants to go in the farm to do things. Then they rather to work with somebody and then go in the shop and buy biscuits or soft drink, some crap stuff or something. Because it's easy. It's much easier. You don't find the people boiling the weed medicine any more and dispensing it to the youths in the weekend. That was traditional and my mother - she did that every fortnight, Saturday or Sunday morning. [...] Today you don't get those things. People don't go to it. They rather go and ask for an aspirin, whether you get, you stump you toe and it getting infected, you ask for an aspirin or something [...] and what they don't understand, that the very medicine they buying in the shop comes from the forest from those plants.*

William has personal experience of such a process, having turned his back on the possibility of apprenticing as a shama man under his father in favour of the lure of new clothes and trainers - a decision he now bitterly regrets (Field Data).



What is more damaging, cash surpluses can prove illusory, especially to a community which, according to Eugene (Field Data, Toka, 9/11/00), is not experienced in financial planning and prone to spending money in hand rather than reinvesting it in community development. The spending of these chimeric surpluses thus results in capital outflows from the community, as described by Uncle Fred (Tape 41, Surama Rest House, 22/6/02):

*Yes, you see, but the most of the, erm, even the parents now are drifting away to everything modernised - you find a truck comes in here, bringing in things to sell, they want, everybody wants to purchase, but who's producing things to sell back to those trucks that bring them? Where're... and where are they getting the money to buy these things? That is the problem. And when they can't... they're not seeing that mistake. So I say you have to produce, to sell to bring money in the community. Because if you keep buying, your money is going out and you leaving with the plastic, empty plastic containers. You see, that's the problem.*

While larger industries such as mining have brought some expendable capital into the region, capital that could be used in local community development, existing laws are not geared to such a process of internally-driven development. Indigenous land rights, for example, do not extend to subsoil rights (Forte 1996a:23), so that any mineral exploitation will have to be by and for the benefit of outside investors with the result that:

The interior of the country has become an enclave for overseas business interests, a situation reminiscent of the colonial age, when the country was dominated by foreign-owned sugar and mining companies. Those most affected are the country's 60,000 Amazonian Indians... marginalised by the development process. Denied adequate land rights and control over decision-making in their own territories they see their environments despoiled and their millennial cultures undermined...

Colchester 1997:1

Rather than serving community needs, therefore, externally-driven development serves only to reinforce the subordinate position of Amerindians in Guyanese society. Despres (1975:99), writing not as an advocate for Amerindian issues but as an economist, claims that:

Over the years, the competitive allocation of Guyana's unexpropriated resources has served to order categorically identified elements of the Guyanese population in an arrangement of unequal status and power. Amerindians are marginal to the whole economy and they exist at the bottom of this stratification structure.



As a result, many Guyanese Amerindians have to seek gainful employment across the border in Roraima State, Brazil, which has experienced relative economic expansion (MRU 1996:51). Consequently, at the period of a study of the North Rupununi by the Iwokrama-sponsored Makushi Research Unit (MRU), 49 males were absent from 467 households and 28 households were headed by women (MRU 1996:51).

The issue of Amerindian land rights has long been contentious and the resolution of this issue was one of the conditions set on Guyana's independence in May 1966, a condition that has only partially been met (UMADC *et al.* 2000:15). In 1976 4,500 square miles of land was conferred on Amerindian Communities out of a total of 40,000 requested and 25,000 recommended by the Amerindian Lands Commission (Forte 1996b:82). The land conferred represents 7% of the national territory of Guyana, corresponding to Amerindian population figures but not taking into account the fact that, for example, Makushi traditional subsistence requires "wide swathes of the varied ecosystems of the North Savannahs" (MRU 1996:287). The current distribution provides only 60% of Amerindian communities with title to *any* of their traditional lands. Worse, rights are guaranteed for neither the land titles themselves nor for the related rights of usufruct, which the Minister responsible for Amerindian Affairs has the right to adjust or withdraw at the stroke of a pen (NDS 2000:279). In fact, in the aftermath of the 'Ranchers' Rebellion' of January 1969<sup>8</sup>, "the revolt that raised the bogey of secession and the loyalty of the Amerindians to Guyana" (Colchester 1997:49-52), not only was the granting of land titles delayed with key frontier areas excluded altogether, but Amerindian ownership of lands was made conditional on continuing loyalty to the state, a condition imposed on no other sector of society and clearly racist in origin. Similarly, half-castes forfeit all rights of Amerindians over state lands, as may Amerindian women who marry non-Amerindians (though the converse is not the case) (NDS 2000:279). In relation to mining, above, any Amerindian wishing to mine to a depth of more than six inches must also give up their rights as an Amerindian, and so many are "concerned that valuable minerals are being removed from lands belonging to them without any meaningful consultation and compensation" (NDS 2000:280).

Increased Amerindian control over the development of community lands would be in direct conflict with central Government's self-interest, given the increase in mining activities nationally and their growing strategic importance worldwide. As a result, while multinational companies are increasingly given access to exploit traditional Amerindian lands, claims from the Amerindian communities themselves lie unattended to (Forte 1994:26). Furthermore, traditional sources of pure water have increasingly come under threat from the mining industries established in the interior of the country since the early 1980s (NDS 2000:278) so that the majority of Amerindian communities have "little or no access to potable water". The appropriate provision of wells, employing local knowledge, is a major issue between the local communities and government agencies. Malaria, malnutrition, acute respiratory infections and diarrhoeal diseases are all more common than on the coast, though Region 9 is less affected than other interior regions (Forte 1996a:16).

Combined with the unequal contest against the multinationals, local communities also despoil lands in a 'Tragedy of the Commons' scenario:

[T]here is a threshold of poverty below which the poor... become disproportionately destructive, either by directly destroying resources which could nurture them for years or indirectly by giving outsiders access to resources under indigenous control.

Forte 1996a:56, see also Colchester 1997:123

As a result, and echoing the words of Uncle Fred and Eugene above:

Local people now indiscriminately fish and hunt during the spawning and breeding seasons of fish and animals as old proscriptions against hunting animals with eggs or young have broken down. The authority of the village councils and Captains is frequently questioned, particularly with regard to defining hunting sites and times. The general view that wild animals belong to everyone means that people feel they can hunt and fish as much as they like. There also seems to be developing a general feeling that people should harvest as much as they can, because otherwise someone else will harvest the animals.

NRDDB and Iwokrama 1999:16-17

Such breakdowns in community cooperation demonstrate not just the interdependence of economic activity and social control within the ideological system, but also interpersonal relations in general, as illustrated by Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/2000):

*We might say, "Okay, let's go into largescale agriculture". Yes, some people might be ready, the majority may not be ready. So...you know...how to meet that. Because you could get one set of people going ahead of some, so the next thing you're doing, rather than having Coastlanders come in and, like, exploit Amerindians, you have Amerindians exploiting Amerindians, and that would be more deadly, because, now, you can move the Coastlander, but you can't move the Amerindian.*

Related conflicts are already in process over lands traditionally held in common by several communities but allocated to one alone through the external dictates of the Amerindian Act (Field Data).

As an alternative to both traditional subsistence activity and the few jobs available in industry, the interior regions of Guyana are looking to the ecotourism boom of the last decade or so in countries such as Costa Rica. However, Guyana is no Costa Rica and it is unlikely huge numbers of ecotourists will come. Nevertheless, in a non-cash economy such as the North Rupununi smaller numbers can be significant in themselves and infrastructure is developing to benefit both community-based projects and individual workers (Field Data). But, as with other industries, technical assistance and financial investment will be required from outside agencies, either national or international. In his case study on ecotourism and environmental education in Guyana, Williams (1997:41) claims that:

Ecotourism has the potential to play a significant role in the economic development of Guyana, both in terms of the foreign exchange and employment it can generate. In particular, it also has the potential to improve the livelihood of people in hinterland communities. However, it must be understood that the benefits to be derived from attracting visitors is dependent upon careful planning, management and utilisation of the all-important resource, the environment.

As with other industries, however, the financial power of outsiders and the poor formal education of indigenous groups means that the norm is for the incorporation of local communities into the ecotourism industry only "at the lower end of the pay scale" as

“cooks, waiters, construction workers, boat drivers and groundskeepers” no longer in control of development locally (Forte 1996b:18).

### 2.3.2 Education

Given the breakdown of community authority systems and the knowledge base behind them described above, it could be said that the problems provoked by the modernisation of economic relations stem from modernisation's inability to produce a system of regulation and instruction appropriate to itself. One failing seems to be that whereas the old methods of instruction, aiming at self-sufficiency and sustainability, married theory and practice, state schooling in the Rupununi relies on a *banking model of pedagogy* (Cummins 1996:153) in which the teacher's role is to impart knowledge and skills to *tabula rasa* students in return for their integration into the non-local system. As the aim of this model is to integrate students into the dominant power/knowledge systems, it fails to engage with the alternative indigenous system and the practicalities of daily life in the Rupununi, often leaving students disastrously adrift in both worlds. William (Tape 26, Toka, 9/11/00) contrasts the two processes:

*W: The Makushi culture is not something that you learn, you know, on a book or something, it's something that is be passed on, yeah, from your parent, parent['s] parent, that's why, the thing that I would know, the sum of the thing that I know, what my father taught me, is what his father taught him, what his father taught him, going back, all the way back.*

*[Tom asks about teaching children during hunting and fishing.]*

*W: Yeah, as we go now, you would see, look how many things you would learn in, for instance in a school now, you would be doing spelling or reading, and you may be able to cover like 20, 40 words. Now, from the time I leave here, when we go riding, he tell me "Daddy, what is that?"*

*TB: Oh, so you're not just teaching him fishing?*

*W: No::, is not just fishing, it's as you see, you learn it. You say "That's a bird, what's its name?" and, you know, you call it. "Look at those mountains," what it mean, and you know, all these things. [...] You see why they would learn faster there, it's more active also. Now you're not seated in one place, you're just looking at one direction, looking at one blackboard and one person and so, you know. [...] Let me say that in school, they will have been teaching my son about fish they call piranha, right? And he would know the word and in the next, he would learn it, in the next ten or fifteen minutes, when he*

*would know something else, he would forget about what piranha is. But when you would go in the fish pond now, you know, he say, "That's what, Daddy?" "That's a piranha," and you catch it, right? Next couple of minutes, you see another one, "a piranha", (xxx) you know. And then you will start to know about not just piranha alone, would be in the pond, you would find other fishes, and that's how we would learn these thing in a, you know in a day, in that little, in that short time that I had with him, I believe he learn it.*

As William elsewhere explains, the need for a more engaging form of education and a two-way flow of ideas and expertise extends to the adult domain of NGO-led workshops (Tape 24, Toka, 8/11/00):

*A day is not too long, but, as I said, if you don't get anything in a whole day session, it gets boring.*

*[Tom asks if there would not be a similar problem with the traditional format]*

*It wouldn't be a problem now, because of the two-ways flow of activity. This is not from the Makushi perspective I was talking, this is like everyday living now, why and how a person can be active in a workshop, and why it can be boring. If you and me did a workshop and we, you talk, I talk, but how would it look you talking all the time and me concentrating on just what you say? It get bored.*

In an attempt to close the gap between everyday experience and formal education the National Development Strategy (NDS 2000:281) recommends the following approach:

Education for Amerindians should be wide in scope. It should not only address issues of formal education for children in the school system, but should extend to empower Amerindians of all ages to improve their standards of living. Education and training policies should be of such a nature that they enable Amerindians to deal with other contemporary issues that affect them. Strategies should therefore be designed to ensure that they encompass all aspects of human development.

The current situation, however, remains far from this vision:

Despite the best intentions... education has a non-traditional focus that may not be applicable to community development. Students are therefore not inculcated with an appreciation of the value of their own traditions. In addition, many cultural aspects of Amerindian life are being eroded. Among these is a gradual loss of language, traditional dress and dance, and medicinal knowledge. To make education a success and relevant to the needs of the Amerindian peoples, the question of linguistics must also be addressed with urgency.

NDS 2000:281



Moreover:

Amerindians have the country's lowest levels of formal education<sup>9</sup>, with the smallest proportion going on to secondary and higher level grades. The lack of secondary schools in the interior means that the few children who do pursue further schooling are often obliged to travel down to the coast. There they suffer discrimination and cultural pressure to conform to coastlander standards.

Colchester 1997:137-138

As very few locals are qualified as teachers (according to Forte [1996a:18] only 0.1% of the interior population have received any form of post-secondary education), trained primary teachers in Amerindian villages very often come from outside the region while unqualified and newly passed-out pupils help to keep the schools going, along with a few, generally extremely young, international volunteers, (NDS 2000:281). At the time of writing, newly-appointed teachers in one village have not been paid in the four months since they took up their positions (Field Data).

In an attempt to improve the situation, a new secondary school has this year been opened in Annai, North Rupununi, to supplement the school in Lethem, almost 100 miles away. There are also 'Hinterland Scholarships' for children from the interior to attend secondary school in Georgetown and at other coastal schools and between 1963 and 1989, 1,063 children were educated at the Government's expense under this scheme (Forte 1996b:10). However:

This programme has not helped the cause of Amerindian development to date. The reasons include the fact that there have been few jobs to return to in the villages. Most scholarship students who do graduate and hope to benefit from their schooling have had to look outside the region of their birth for jobs. So, ironically, the scheme has the result of selecting the brightest Amerindian children for the purpose of effectively banishing them from their home villages. At the same time, the overall performance of the interior scholarship winners has been poor...

Forte 1996b:10

In fact, 14% of these scholars achieve *no formal qualifications at all* (René van Dongen, UNICEF, personal communication). This raises many serious questions, among them the relevance of course content to interior issues and daily life. For example, even in subjects such as agricultural studies which would appear to be relevant, the concentration on the

coastal sugar and rice economy renders the subject inapplicable to hinterland farmers (René van Dongen, UNICEF, personal communication). Presumably materials with which the students were familiar would not only enhance their academic performance but also give them the option of returning to the interior with skills matching the development needs of the region. Instead, poor schooling provision, the lack of relevance of the national syllabus and the improbability of state education improving employment prospects have led to a huge dropout rates amongst the Amerindian population, a slack Uncle Fred (Tape 41, Surama Rest House, 22/6/02) would like to see taken up by a return to traditional knowledge:

*So that when these children... there are a lot of dropouts in the indigenous population there is a lot of dropping out, you got a 90% dropouts in school. As soon as they reach third form, they are out. [...] Now, we want to use those dropouts... to put them to learn, that is why we're going to have a section there with industrial arts section, teaching carpentry, cabinet making, you know, so you can train children, young men and women, to do things like catering, (xxx) section where you teach the young women to cook, to sew and (x). So even if they are at home they can sew clothing or something and make a dollar. You don't need to go to Brazil to be a domestic over there, and you can do it over here, you know, live in your - we have land, go to the soil, do agriculture. At a later stage we're hoping that the idea might materialise to put up a small hydro in Buro Buro [River]. There are two areas that we can look into, and you get no elaborate something, but it's pushing up current to set up cottage industry like canning our peanuts.*

The need to relate formal education to the practicalities of daily life is crucial not only in terms of providing future generations with relevant practical skills, but also in order to engage the students' interest, drawing upon and developing their own expertise. In a situation such as the Rupununi where the majority of schoolchildren enter the education system monolingual in an indigenous language (Field Data) this also means providing a serious and coherent programme of bilingual education. However, despite preelection lip service - the Amerindian population could swing the balance of power if it voted en bloc - the Government has done little to implement such a serious bilingual policy which, as Colchester (1997:138) points out, would be incompatible with the Government's integrationist policy, as captured in the national motto *One People, One Nation, One Destiny*.

Adrian Gomes, Headmaster of the Aishalton Secondary School in the Wapishana area of Deep South Rupununi and Chairman of the Wapishana Literacy Association (Wapishana

Wadauniinau Ati'o - WWA), has recently begun studies for an M.Sc. in TESOL at Leeds University in England which will make him as qualified as anyone in the country on bilingual education. I worked along with Adrian and the WWA promoting Wapishana education for nursery schooling and the first years of primary and found the Government attitude generally uninterested and ill-informed. The appointment of a dedicated Hinterland Education Coordinator in 2000 has at least smoothed the channels of discussion on this issue, but his duties cover a vast area, in terms of both responsibilities and geography, and there is no expertise to back him up on issues of bilingual education.

While organisations such as the WWA promote the use of indigenous languages in education and many teachers, particularly at nursery and primary levels, use these languages substantially in practice, there are also serious doubts in the minds of many parents and teachers as to the usefulness of using indigenous languages in education, and any programme will have to be strongly promoted amongst the population before the issue is fully understood and accepted. At present there is a feeling that indigenous languages are purely for informal use with English supplanting them in higher-prestige domains. At the newly-opened secondary school in Annai the headteacher there tried to prohibit the use of Makushi even in the dormitories, and when I asked William about the headteachers' attitude to Makushi he told me (Tape 26, Toka, 9/11/00):

*W: Some of them still respect it a lot, as much as they would respect the English language, but in some cases I see that they kinda look at Makushi as their means of communicating with their community, with the Makushi people.*

*TB: But not in the school, is that what you're saying?*

*W: Nah, not in school, they won't do that in school.*

*TB: Makushi for the village, English for the school?*

*W: U-huh. Yeah.*

*TB: And even Amerindian teachers and headmasters are doing that, yeah?*

*W: Yeah, they're doing that.*

As well as the usual problems relating to individual development associated with the current practice of total immersion into the dominant second language, in this case

English (see e.g. Cummins 1996 *passim*; Cummins 2000 *passim*), a further consequence of this policy is that English becomes associated from an early age with power and discipline, potentially leading to expectations that those who command the language also command power and authority. Furthermore, English language teaching follows a traditional grammar-based approach, one of the prominent aims of which is to eradicate any structures from Guyana's English-based creole Creolese from the speech of the Amerindian population (Field Data). This emphasis on 'good grammar' means that children are not trained to use English to express themselves. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in negotiating situations between minority groups petitioning through English as a second language and native English gatekeepers many minority participants fail to contribute anything beyond a bare minimum or, as in the more tolerant institutional setting of the NRDDDB, prefer to use Makushi when they need to express themselves. William is aware of this problem and as Chairman tries to persuade people to express themselves in the language they felt most at ease in (NRDDDB 2/11/01, Annai Institute):

*... if you can't speak properly in English, if you can't bring out the whole essence of what you're saying, I would prefer you spoke in Makushi.*

However, the pressure to conform with institutional norms and the feeling, expressed above, that English is the language of prestigious domains, means that very little Makushi is used in NRDDDB meetings, despite the presence of an excellent interpreter, Zack Norman. This theme is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 3.

### 2.3.3 An encyclopaedia is closed: Summary of changes in terms of context.

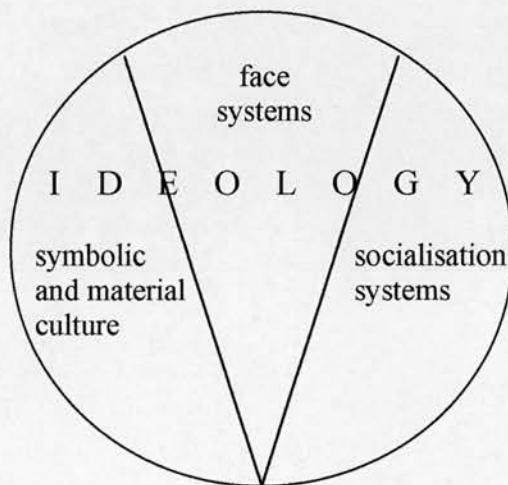
Returning to the variables of context set up above, it could be said that the changes in the indigenous context brought about by their increased integration into the wider society have provoked crises in the fields of indigenous community activity, the set of which activities comprises a community's material and symbolic culture. These crises in turn are connected to breakdowns in the institutionalised face systems that define the tenor of community relations, and the socialisation systems through which the communities sustain and reproduce traditional knowledge and values. This interrelation is apparent in





Eugene's description of the shama man's former power in controlling fish stocks and how enhanced fields of knowledge have altered the tenor of interpersonal relations by undermining the authority of the shama man and so destroying the mythology he promoted as a mode of socialisation through instruction and regulation. Completing the circle, the result is that Makushi activity is severely affected through the overharvesting of increasingly scarce resources.

However, the events sketched above do not occur in the cyclical manner suggested. Rather, alterations in each variable occur simultaneously, with each perturbing the other and provoking a process of realignment as equilibrium and coherence are sought in the *ideology*<sup>10</sup> that holds these practices together. Figure 2.1, which will be developed in detail in Chapter 3, illustrates an ideology as the dynamic relationship between a community's material and symbolic culture and its face and socialisation systems.



**Figure 2.1.** *Ideological system.*

In a chicken-and-egg situation, this ideology is coherent if the variables that comprise it are coherent, while the variables maintain their coherence if they spring from a coherent underlying ideology. It can thus be said that a community's ideology and the material and symbolic culture, face systems and socialisation systems that comprise it are *mutually constitutive and mutually disruptive*. This will prove an important dynamic later on.



Fishman (1991:62) brings out how aspects of ideology interact when he describes the effects of the capitalisation of local economies and the dynamic relation between control of local resources and community authority systems:

in such settings indigenous populations are robbed of control of the natural resources that could constitute the economic bases of a more self-regulatory collective life and therefore robbed also of a possible avenue of cultural viability as well.

In other words, external control of the economy goes beyond merely *perturbing* the indigenous ideology to threaten the *rupture* of the whole dynamic system. In such a scenario the most obvious route to ideological coherence is to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of indigenous socialisation and face systems in the face of externally-led changes in social activity with the socialisation and face systems of the same external force. The motto *One Nation, One People One Destiny* suggests that this is the end of history as envisaged by the Government of Guyana. For while they frequently adopt the rhetoric of participatory democracy, the popular perception is either that the Government has no idea of what participation means in practice (Tony Melville, Touchau of Touchaus for Region 8, Guiana Shield Conference 6/12/00), or that the rhetoric is no more than a facade to cover their true intent, as when, after urgings for an Environmental Impact Study on the proposed road from Brazil, the Government “tried to stifle public debate about the road and discouraged the consultants from holding public meetings to gather local people’s opinions” (Colchester 1997:56). According to Forte (1996b:68), and reminiscent of the justifications of the Conquest:

The most striking factor about the first phase of the road building is that the Amerindians, who form the majority of the population of the area through which it passes (Region 9) were the last to know about the awarding of the contract to [Brazilian mining concern] Paranapanema. The official attitude is as if the trail to Kurupukari [in the Iwokrama Rainforest] will be passing through no man’s land, *terra nullius*.

The revised Amerindian Act of 1976 makes explicit the Government’s paternalistic view of the benefactor-client relationship that would underpin any shared destiny. The Act, analysed in detail in Chapter 5, consistently portrays the Amerindian population as beneficiaries of Government actions and as subordinate and passive, while the State is

seen as agentive and authoritative, instigational in both its own acts and those of the Amerindians<sup>11</sup>.

While state assistance has brought about advantages to the local communities in such matters as the provision of infrastructure, subsidised transport and a level of organisation necessary following the disappearance of traditional community action, Escobar (1992, in Spiegel, Watson and Wilkinson 1999:175) captures the ambivalence of a triumph of paternalism as envisaged by the Government of Guyana and underlying existing interactions between the state and indigenous communities:

One cannot look on the bright side of planning, its modern achievements (if one were to accept them), without looking at the same time on its dark side of domination... Planning inevitably requires the normalisation and standardisation of reality, which in turn entails injustice and the erasure of difference and diversity.

One symptom of the “normalisation and standardisation of reality” and the “erasure of difference and diversity” is the loss of traditional knowledge, as described above by Uncle Fred with particular reference to medicinal knowledge, but applicable across many fields of material and symbolic culture. Anthropological research into traditional exploitation of forest resources carried out in the region by Christie Allan demonstrates a great gulf in knowledge between the older generation and young and middle-aged Makushi (Christie Allan, Presentation of research findings to Surama Village, 21/6/02). Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00) places this process in the context of diminishing competence in Makushi and the consequent failure of intergenerational transmission of the elders’ knowledge. He claims that what is passed on in English is “only scratching the surface of Makushi culture” and describes the loss of access to the elders’ knowledge as “like an encyclopaedia being closed”. To exacerbate matters, it is the elders, with their barely tapped store of traditional knowledge, who participate least in modern institutional fora, as these fora often rely almost exclusively on English and contain a measure of written documentation, modes of transmission in which these elders are at the very least uncomfortable and from which, in the worst case, they are totally excluded (Uncle Fred, NRDDDB Meeting, Annai Institute, 4/11/00).

These circumstances again demonstrate the dynamic between fields of knowledge, interpersonal relations, and the mode of reproduction of that knowledge. From the accounts above it would appear that the traditional dynamic has been ruptured and that cultural transmission through modern schooling practice, with its emphasis on banking pedagogy, has failed to meet the developing needs of the Makushi people. Rather, the banking method imposes an inappropriate technology on uninterested students, while those who continue with their education, often in the alien culture of Georgetown, are liable to find that they are suited to neither culture when their education finishes. As an old Brazilian friend of William's father used to say (Tape 26, Toka, 9/11/00):

*When you have children, make sure you don't tell them about how to work. Take them in the farm and make them work. Give them something to do. And they would grow up with that kind of sense, and when they grow up you won't have a problem relating [...]*

While a schooling based on a banking approach to pedagogy has failed to tap into existing resources and adapt them to changing circumstances, the Government practice of bringing in outsiders to carry out work in the region has meant that there is no skills transfer and hence no capital transfer either. To highlight a case in point, William (Tape 26, Toka, 9/11/00) considers that it would have been better to establish a brick-producing capacity in the region rather than to bring in the bricks from outside:

*It should have been a contribution of the government. But then they didn't want us to gain any money, like, or something like that coming from those bricks.*

Eugene (Tape 7. Management Planning Workshop, Toka, 18/4/00) makes a similar point, above, with regard to the financial support given to externally-devised projects:

*...cultural restoration. Maybe you couldn't finance that, you know? Because what we find there's disadvantage when we've been...government, erm, driven programmes, they've been...financially supported properly...and our erm programmes are not, traditional ways are not supported so. They have an advantage right away there (xx) find that.. they actually killing...government is (xx) not knowing (they) erm killing culture.*

Elsewhere Eugene complains that very little money from aid budgets ultimately goes to Amerindian communities, but is accounted for in the wages of foreign aid workers and a coastal Guyanese workforce. William (18/1/02, NRDDDB Meeting, Yakarinta) likewise

labels a process whereby millions of dollars are spent on providing wells for indigenous communities without a penny reaching local pockets as “a backward kind of development”. His point is that if money does not come into the community they will always have to rely on outside patronage rather than reinvesting the money in their own projects and developing a measure of autonomy. Any measure of autonomy is anathema to the Government and I have at times felt that international aid organisations are keener on drawing indigenous communities into international controls than on either passing on skills, losing lucrative jobs in the process, or encouraging self-sufficiency and sustainability. Uncle Fred (Tape, Surama Rest House, 22/6/02) shares this cynicism at the national level:

*Because the business sector fully understand that once the indigenous population get to know the true meaning of sustainability, well then they would start to manage their resources and their chances of making a lot of money would be cut.*

A further result of the externally-controlled approach to development is that, beyond pure economics, there has been a decline in the prestige afforded to indigenous cultural resources, their *symbolic capital*, while there has been no compensatory capacitation of the indigenous community in prestigious domains previously excluded to them. In sum, after the impact of modernisation, the indigenous ideology has not been allowed to reestablish its equilibrium as external actors have rushed in to stake their claim in every aspect of community life. This disequilibrium and the net loss of prestige for local cultural resources has resulted in the *misrecognition*, by Amerindian and non-Amerindian alike, of external structures as inherently superior, an attitude encountered from the first days of schooling, where English rather than Makushi is seen as the suitable medium of education. Later, when indigenous students leave the village school, they meet full-on the scorn of other Guyanese, as William (Tape 26, Toka, 9/11/00) describes:

*Well, it all comes back to the recognition of the culture, you know. A lot of people, they feel that the Makushi cul-, the Makushi or the Amerindian culture is so inferior that they don't want to do any... they don't want to have anything with it. They don't want to associate themselves with it. Even with our youths down here. If you see that erm when they would call them buck boy, “Wh'appen there, buck boy?”, you know they feel offended, like, and they don't feel proud of it, they don't even want to associate themselves with that name, so before they would kind of face this embarrassment, they*



would kinda try to (?scander) off, like. "But that's not for me, that's for somebody else" kinda thing, you know?

#### 2.3.4 The mismatch of field and habitus.

In discussion with representatives from Iwokrama, Eugene had referred to "western culture" as "winning out" over indigenous culture. I later questioned him on this (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00):

**TB:** Which culture would you say is dominating at the moment?

**Eu:** Dominating? The western culture is kinda... is more ahead, but erm, you still gotta understand Amerindian culture is not dead... very alive. I want to say, I don't think the people dominate (in) Iwokrama.

**TB:** I think... yeah... I think, well I think that was in context it made more sense, I think it meant 'winning out', when you're here, in a village like Toka, you see the Makushi culture, you see the Western culture [and you were worried]

**Eu:** [I wouldn't really think] 'winning out' was the proper word too. What I would say, it's erm, it's more vivid, right, you can see more of it. But then if you go back... okay, you do business, you meet the people, you approach the way they think, you can see that the Amerindian culture is still inside of the people, it's ingrained inside of the people, right? So it's, I mean, "What a man is inside," you know the Scripture, "I would see it in secret," right? "As man thinketh in his heart, so is he." So, the way the people think, the way they believe, the way they feel about life is purely Makushi. But then the environment that they live in is Western.

What Eugene has captured here is Bourdieu's (1990a *passim*) idea that those socialised in one ideological context develop a *habitus*, a "system of dispositions" (Bourdieu 1990a:59) appropriate to the *field* of that upbringing. A social agent's habitus is their preferred and largely subconscious way of behaving: ingrained, naturalised and extremely difficult to override. Displaced from their *field of socialisation*, therefore, social agents are unsure of how to behave, and often behave in ways that are misunderstood by those in whose natural field they are operating. If the alien *field of context* is a dominant culture, as in the case of the indigenous peoples of Guyana, the response of the members of this dominant group is often to attempt to acculturate the 'other' and assimilate them into their culture. However, this approach carries with it dangers of stagnation and anomie, as Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00) points out:



*You can't change totally, to change the people totally you would have them again in a position where they wouldn't know where they are going.*

In this scenario, the minority group is lost because their cultural dynamic has been broken, unable to accommodate the nature and rate of change. However, if the rate and nature of change are controlled, it is possible for the cultural dynamic of the minority group to absorb and adapt this change in a process of development:

A community inherits a specific way of life... which sets limits to how and how much it can change itself. The change is lasting and deep if it is grafted on to the community's suitably reinterpreted deepest tendencies and does not go against the grain. A community's political identity then is neither unalterable and fixed, nor a voluntarist project to be executed as it pleases, but a matter of slow self-recreation within the limits set by its past.

Parekh 1995 in May 2001:73

The need for a community to remain true to its cultural past as it develops, then, contains more than just sentiment or 'romanticism': it is a means to protect against *wrong development* where indigenous peoples feel like "refugees in own country, begging for a little bit of this, a little bit of that" (Uncle Fred, Surama management planning, 29/3/00). Eugene (Tape 6, Management Planning Workshop, Toka, 18/4/00) is, as usual, more dramatic. Summing up the Government's willingness to fund plans from national and international organisations but not from indigenous groups themselves, he concludes:

*We die as a people; so that is passive genocide.*

Sydney Allicock, Uncle Fred's eldest son, Chairman of the NRDDDB at the time of speaking, and all-round mover and shaker, is less pessimistic, but captures the failings of state-led development with its underlying paternalistic attitude when he says (Surama management planning, 29/3/00):

*Work with us, not tell us what to do.*

With this statement Sydney captures the inseparability of the socioeconomic and discourse histories of the communities and their partners in development, an approach

that is almost entirely lacking in the existing system of state-led paternalism and which results in economic stagnation and a crisis in the sociocultural system as traditional knowledge and skills are lost, wildlife stocks disappear, and the patterns of authority necessary to control the situation are undermined.

These failings can be related then to a mismatch of field and habitus where innovative methods cannot be subsumed into the indigenous cultural dynamic, a process that would only be made possible through a continuous linkage between theory and practice and with the socioeconomic and discourse relations between stakeholders developing in an integrated fashion. The following section looks at the successes and failings of such a cooperative approach as undertaken by the NRDDDB and Iwokrama.

#### **2.4 You need to listen to the people: The NRDDDB and Iwokrama.**

Uncle Fred (Surama, Management Planning Meeting, 29/3/00) sums up the frustration felt by the local communities in the face of Government-led paternalism :

*We want the Government of Guyana to see Surama as an asset not a liability.*

For, while the communities are aware that the paternalism of the state has failed them, they do not seek to revert to the *status quo ante* of conventional authority and isolationism. On the contrary, there is universal recognition amongst the elders that the dramatic changes in their field of activity necessitate a realignment within the whole ideological system. As Eugene says (Field Data, 9/11/00, William's House):

*The world is changing and we gotta find our place in it.*

The text that opens this chapter makes it clear that the communities do not want secession, but a level of autonomy that allows them to control and manage their affairs within the national context and to develop at grassroots level plans that are complementary to the national development strategies of the Government. Such a level

of autonomous action has been labelled *cultural nationalism* (May 2001:77-80).

According to May (2001:78) cultural nationalism is

concerned principally with what constitutes national [as opposed to state<sup>12</sup>] *identity*, and with the moral regeneration of the national *community* or 'way of life', rather than with state secession as such. Via this communitarian emphasis, cultural nationalisms attempt to reconstruct tradition (be it historical, cultural or linguistic) in order to meet more adequately the demands of modernity...

Cultural nationalisms accordingly differ from [secessionist] political nationalisms in the nature and extent of their political organisation, comprising largely small-scale 'grass-roots' movements which have as their principal foci specific historical, linguistic and educational concerns.

Cultural nationalism therefore subsumes Kymlicka's definition of minority rights (1995, in May 1999b:25) as rights to:

maintain one's membership in a distinct culture, and to continue developing that culture in the same (impure) way that the members of majority cultures are able to develop theirs.

Such an approach, while shunning the wholesale importation of exogenous methods, recognises the demands of modernity and the need to introduce a catalyst (what Kymlicka might label an "impurity") into the indigenous cultural dynamic. Sydney, speaking before national and international scientists and representatives from indigenous communities throughout Guyana at the Guiana Shield Conference (Pegasus Hotel, Georgetown, 4/12/00), put it like this:

*We have the community, you have the technology, why not join together for the great partnership that we are looking for?*

While several NGOs and International Organisations have taken up Sydney's challenge, the local communities' principal partner in this enterprise has been Iwokrama.

### 2.4.1 Successes of NRDDDB-Iwokrama collaboration.

The greatest success of Iwokrama's work in conjunction with the NRDDDB is that their efforts have been undertaken in a spirit of collaboration as opposed to the disastrous paternalism of the Government. Steve Andries (Tape 31, Rupertee, 28/2/01), a councillor and farmer from the village of Rupertee, is particularly enthusiastic about the more collaborative approach of groups such as Iwokrama and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA):

**TB:** *... when the outsiders come with their knowledge, how do you see them... what's their role in the community?*

**SA:** *Well, their role is that they're willing to contribute. They are not saying "Look, look, well we want you to do this." They present an offer. Okay, "Would you like, are you interested in so, so, so, so, we are willing to lend or contribute this article. With your consent." And that's what I like about the whole thing. Right, because now they are not forcing us into something that we do not know about. Right. But basically you carry out a little research there to find out first of all, okay, "Are you interested in this? And what are some of the things that you would need to have from us so that we can start?"*

Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00) singles out Iwokrama's approach to communications and sees it as a model that other organisations should follow:

*Iwokrama is doing an excellent job in that field because, like, Iwokrama right now actually is developing a system of communicating or trying at least to understand the way Amerindian people would think or how they communicate... so if Iwokrama could use that and effectively use it and could bring results, you would find that UNDP [United Nations Development Programme] and other NGOs might very well catch on.*

Improved consultation from groups such as Iwokrama and CIDA has led to practical benefits, such as the introduction of appropriate technology into the villages, as described by Steve (Tape 31, Rupertee, 28/2/01):

*Apart from the drip irrigation is (the bad like) wasting water, you know, on the beds, when you use a spraying can, the water seems to be spilling all over, but with the driplet you direct it to the plants. Added to it, they also teach you the methods of, like, mulching, when you can mulch, why you have to mulch. They also teach you about planting various species of plants that is called windbreaker, that is to ease the pressure of the wind when the plant is young.*

Unlike the banking method of development, which seeks to replace local knowledge, however, Iwokrama's approach reawakens local respect for existing resources in terms of both their values and their limitations. Steve (Tape 31, Rupertee, 28/2/01) says that:

*Iwokrama contribute to this village uhm by like making us to understand the true uses of our resources. And also to educate us to know what and where is our boundaries of operations.*

Uncle Fred (Tape 33, Surama Rest House, 6/3/01) puts it similarly:

*Well, one of the things which I know the communities have benefited from and they would continue to benefit from is the education, the outreach programme, the education. Because, as I said, since Iwokrama come, people are beginning to get aware of the value of their resources that we have and they are understanding that there is nowhere you can go. If you harvest everything, you destroy everything, then where would you go to get...? So you have to start making an effort to try to save what we have now.*

Researchers from Iwokrama have also encouraged the study and application of methods learned from local communities in neighbouring Brazil, an approach that not only relinks theory and practice to bring economic benefits, but in doing so also does much to enhance the prestige of local knowledge. One such skill is the method for counting the endangered arapaima, the world's largest freshwater fish. The low stock levels of this fish mean that it is presently a conserved species; however, there are hopes that the technologies learned from neighbouring communities will allow levels to rise to such a point that harvesting for local use and for marketing becomes possible (Uncle Fred. Tape 33, Surama Rest House, 6/3/01):

*What these experts from Brazil are doing with the arapaima, counting, it's like a census on the arapaima population they are going to be doing. People are very much enthusiastic and interested in it, people now want to go into fish farming, conservation, rather than poisoning and doing continuous overtrapping and these kind of thing. They are getting sensitive to the dangers of overharvesting. And things are picking up. They are getting to realise the mistakes we used to make.*

The success of linking conservation theory to local livelihoods was also evident in the NRDDB Workshop on Aquarium Fish (12/12/00), where the common interest among fishermen and traders led to a significant exchange of complementary knowledge systems. However, the distinctive roles of the local communities developing sustainable



livelihoods for their own economic and cultural survival and Iwokrama as conservationists who do not depend for survival on the theories and practice they promote have at times proved less easy to reconcile.

#### 2.4.2 Tensions within NRDDB-Iwokrama collaboration.

Graham (Tape 34, Iwokrama, Georgetown, 24/4/01) neatly summarises the different approaches to conservation that must ultimately distinguish local communities and the scientists of Iwokrama:

*I think in the early stages when I started working, what we did was we went out and tried to ask. The problem with asking is that even when you ask you create a framework of what is possible and what is not possible. And yes we have to do that because Iwokrama does have plans, and I think if we'd just gone out to the communities and asked them what they wanted, they would say, it might be something as simple as "We want more employment and we want it in such and such a way." Of course, Iwokrama doesn't do that, Iwokrama doesn't do employment, so it has to couch it and manage it and mould it, but if you look at the wildlife process, a lot of those concerns do come from the communities, but these may not be their major concerns. For example, if I was in the community, mine might be, you know, "What's going to happen to my kids, where's the schooling, where's this, where's that?", rather than "The environment's getting bugged up." And what you find is that in fact it weaves, goes back and forth like this, as you know, we're sitting here, we're thinking about the environment, they're there sitting thinking about jobs and opportunities,*

Two corollaries to the needs-driven participation of the local communities are that many are too busy surviving to participate in development discourses, while those who do are likely to grab at whatever help is offered them. Graham (Tape 34, Iwokrama, Georgetown, 24/4/01) refers to the first of these limitations on participation:

*I mean usually the councillors are people that have a job and they have money and they have the opportunity to do this. Most people are worried about their kids and where the next piece of food is coming from. And that is the danger, so there generally has to be an increase in affluence.*

Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00) describes how poverty can lead the communities to accept whatever is offered to them:

*Once you find a people that is poor, anything you actually give them, they're ready to grasp at it, but then sometimes that may not be the thing that they need, but just because of their poverty, they're saying it's an opportunity and they don't want to lose that opportunity. So, to avoid that, you need to come back to the people, right?*

However, despite this tendency to accept gift horses without always looking too closely in the mouth, community activists attempt where possible to maintain a critical eye. Steve (Tape 31, Rupertee, 28/2/01) shows a level of caution:

*Everything is good to see but everything is not good to accept*

Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00) similarly talks of a lack of trust and how he holds back local knowledge:

*I'm a very suspicious Amerindian. You don't get everything from me [...] but if Amerindian would be allowed to do their own thing, I think then they would do a better job. [...] There's certain things, how to analyse these things, and that is why, when you take it outside to the white man, and they hear the white man analysing, they say "Wait, he gonna take something outta this." Then they start to retract. And we do need that kind of thing at this point in time, because we're talking about a people dying out.*

This reluctance to pass on information to outsiders can be problematical. Those mapping Amerindian resources in the South Rupununi to reclaim land rights, for example, were only willing to mark down areas that they utilised without disclosing what they were used for (Field Data), and Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00) says how even he and William, as a result of their dealings with outsiders, are looked at with some suspicion when they go among the elders.

Where Iwokrama has built up trust among the indigenous population, Graham sees this as based on individual relationships rather than on trust of the institution, a relationship threatened by the constant changeover in personnel (Tape 34, Iwokrama. Georgetown, 24/4/01):

*You're talking about the people initiating the discussions have to be the people who will be implementing policy. Because otherwise, what happens when you bring new people in is that they don't understand the things that happened before, they don't understand this dialogue that's been going on for years, and they immediately begin with a new dialogue.*

Relating this changeover in personnel to deeper problems concerning the overuse of short-term consultancies throughout the international development sector in general, Graham is scathing of what he sees as an old boys' network and what he calls "aid power" (Tape 34, Iwokrama. Georgetown, 24/4/01):

*If you ask the question who's hired, because they're all friends of each other, and so there is in fact an old boys' network here, and you can see it very clearly. You know, if somebody wants to hire somebody, they'll hire somebody that they know, and it doesn't come out as an old boys' network, but it is an old boys' network.*

This control of the superstructures of the development process and the indigenous reluctance to turn away assistance means that in practice the prioritising of issues and the pace of change are dictated by non-indigenous groups. When I put this to Uncle Fred (Tape 33, Surama Rest House, 6/3/01) he concurred that pressures on Iwokrama meant that they were forced to hurry processes that should have been allowed to mature at a steadier pace:

*Yes. I think the problem with Iwokrama is time is against them and they are trying to get through their – (xx) – really, it took them a long time to get started, and now they are trying to catch up with time. Because there is a deadline to start being self-sufficient and sustainable. And they're trying to – that anxiety, like, you know, they're trying to kind of run, they've developed a momentum that is a bit too fast.*

While this process is understandable in terms of the pressures on Iwokrama from their international funding bodies (Janette Forte, Personal conversation), from the indigenous point of view it only takes control one step further away from the grassroots. The result is that Iwokrama come to dominate the partnership in ways that were not intended. When I asked Eugene if Iwokrama had mechanisms for hearing the people, he responded (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00):

*Well, they are working on that, I can see they are working hard towards it, but still like I said, erm, I still think Iwokrama is somehow like trying to bend people towards their... towards their agenda.*

Iwokrama's ultimate control over the NRDDB's agenda is explicitly stated in their Community Outreach Programme:

Iwokrama will continue to facilitate workshops on wildlife in the North Rupununi as requested by the NRDDDB once the workshop subjects are considered to be consistent with the mission of Iwokrama

NRDDDB and Iwokrama 1999:30

Within those workshops they do facilitate, Iwokrama's control is also very noticeable and an in-depth analysis of this process and the causes behind it is offered in Chapter 6.

#### 2.4.3 Iwokrama's approach as advocacy and cooptation?

The fact that Iwokrama can dictate the pace and direction of change to this extent is a result of the disequilibrium in the symbolic capital of the respective groups. This can lead to problems of *advocacy*, where it is Iwokrama rather than the communities who take forward locally-formulated plans, or *cooptation*, where community efforts are controlled from within an Iwokrama-dominated framework. Advocacy and cooptation differ from paternalism in that with paternalism the dominant group both decides upon and controls the course of development, leaving no room for communicative action at the community level. However, both advocacy and cooptation are fraught with problems, as this section sets out to demonstrate.

The perception that local communities need a symbolically powerful advocate to validate their development plans stretches from the communities themselves to the Government of Guyana. Rodney Davies, local fishing expert and Vice Chairman of the NRDDDB, has complained that community members, assuming that all progress must come from Iwokrama, wrongly attribute locally-instigated development plans to Iwokrama (Field Data). This is a classic example of how the symbolic power already possessed by Iwokrama attracts to itself further symbolic capital. This situation is mirrored in the Government's attitude towards local knowledge and their willingness to accept shoddy mainstream research over more accurate local knowledge. As one scientist puts it:

*I mean you've got people coming in and doing surveys of parrots and macaws using methods that are unintelligible, cannot be, well, from the scientific perspective they're in fact useless, they're all gobbledygook, basically, you come out with an estimate of how*

*many parrots there are in the country based on seeing a hundred birds, then there are a million in the country. I mean, if you did that to any human population, people would laugh you out of the bloody room, but yet we do that and then we hide it in all the gobbledygook, in (wholesale) numbers. Nobody's going to read the numbers. But if you actually look at it it says a hundred birds or so, and you're estimating two million in the country? From a hundred? I don't think so. I really don't think so. So where does this number come from? You might as well have pulled it out of your arse. However, nobody's going to ask that, because this is sci:entist did it. The authority is there because the Government (here??) agrees with the scientists, because they know science is good. Now, if Uncle Fred comes along and says "Excuse me, but I think that you should harvest twenty-five birds a year," and doesn't want to explain exactly why they think that, or if they did try and explain it, it would completely (out of) the books, it would be relevant to this thing, but it wouldn't be accepted. And that's what's wrong. Because the twenty-five's probably much better than the middle of the – the effective number that's extracted from this thing with a model and a piece of shit here and a piece of crap there, 'cause that's all irrelevant.*

However, the converse can also be true in that Uncle Fred's approval of outside plans and his reformulation of them in local terms (to be discussed in detail in Chapter 7) can carry significant weight in the local communities (Iwokrama scientist, personal communication).

Advocacy, as illustrated here, relates sections of the dominant group having ultimate control over the *content* of Development Discourse at the highest levels of policy-making. However, the petitioner-gatekeeper roles set up by the development process in its present form mean that this control also extends to the *form* of negotiations as the communities are obliged to meet Iwokrama representatives on their own ground. Hagerman, who studied communications in the region for a Master's Degree in communication, comments on Iwokrama's early approach:

Referring in particular to the initial consultation meetings of Iwokrama, many of the Amerindians from my host village have also noted that outsiders are willing to spend large sums of money to fly to the Interior to consult them and explain their purpose. However, despite the financial commitment, the unwillingness to dedicate the time required to develop a level of comfort and rapport as well as to ensure that issues discussed are truly understood has resulted in a continued problem in terms of dialogue and comprehension.

Hagerman 1997:172



Iwokrama's attitude towards participatory discourse has changed considerably since those early days, but there is still a tendency to avoid more informal settings, as noted by William (Tape 26, Toka, 9/11/00):

*Probably, like, I mean, [Iwokrama representative] and any one of them never come and really have a chat like how you be chatting, and they're not getting to hear what is my views and what is that one views about it . What we would have is, like, in workshops, we may have, like, short time to kinda try to say what we want to really see how it, see how things work. And that wouldn't be able to cover all that - you know it wouldn't bring out the true sense, then. So, like, these kind of er chatting that we may have would kinda - you may hear more and get the point straight, like.*

In practice negotiations are largely condensed into concentrated western formats familiar to the international community rather than local methods, though efforts are being made by Iwokrama to hold discussions within community contexts.

While in Iwokrama's case the general reliance on international discourse structures is largely a matter of expedience, van Dijk (1997: 21) claims that "the first set of strategies that are used to control public discourse as a means to exercise social power consist in controlling the parameters of the context". Similarly, the unfamiliarity of the institutional setting reduces the expectability of the content (Bremner and Simonot 1996:167) so that familiar schemata can no longer be relied upon (Kohonen 1992:20-21). These factors further add to the existing problem of having to negotiate largely through the lexicogrammar of a second language.

Eugene (Tape 40, NRDDDB Meeting, Yakarinta, 19/1/02) describes how, in his opinion, the effects of institutionalised discourse go beyond the confines of NRDDDB meetings themselves and into the communities as the Iwokrama-sponsored CEWs have adopted western communication formats that have supplanted more appropriate local modes of communication:

*... and though it [local procedure] may not be something formal like this, here we would have to have our parliamentary procedure and all that kind of thing, and who stands first, who stands that, they sit down and they discuss, and that is the technique. And I think that is a system that we use, and we don't document that, but that is the system that we use to effect in Toka. And I'm telling you [that as a result of local methods of dissemination], the last two years, if there's twenty deer been killed in Toka, compared*

*with what was killing before, that's a lot. And the guys hardly would go out, and they find people try to utilise, you know, try to produce more and use more of the farm and actually (?had a go). And how did we disseminate that information? We go out after football, we sit together and things would be discussed then, we don't have paper, we don't write these kind of things. And that is the effectiveness, the CEWs supposed to be prepared every time, at all time, to sit, chat to people: every time an opportunity is created to discuss, to tell somebody about something. But you see how we've done... what we've done with the CEW programme, we have made it formal, we've made it more a western system, so that is what you get: You've asked for this, and the people give you... they work for twelve hours, they give you twelve hours' support and that's it.*

Uncle Fred (Tape 33, Surama Rest House, 6/3/01) also appreciates the informal community fora and emphasises how many more people are prepared to speak in these meetings than in the more formal NRDDDB meetings:

**UF:** *We normally would have a session, like, if you have something important to discuss where you want everybody to know, we normally select Sunday after service because most people go to church, and after service you would announce it the day before or during church, say, "Well, look, after church, shortly after service, we would have a meeting, a very important meeting," or the day before, or two days before, it all depends when you get the information that this meeting is to be; you go around the councillors and go around to each home and say, "Okay, we need everybody out to attend this meeting."*

**TB:** *And those meetings, would they be similar to NRDDDB meetings, or would there be a different format? Would they be more informal or less formal? The way people speak.*

**UF:** *It would be slightly different, because what you would find is that in the NRDDDB meeting you would find very few speakers – just the head speaker, who might give you the presentation, and then you notice very few questions comes up, and if questions come, it would be two or three persons would be speaking the entire meeting.*

This demonstrates how external control of fora, made possible through the symbolic capital afforded to international institutions and the resultant misrecognition of the value of community practice, leads to a lack of integration of local, and often very important, voices. Without any real significant input from the local communities Uncle Fred, amongst others, complains that touchaus do not contribute nearly enough (Tape 33, Surama Rest House, 6/3/01). More drastically, as doctoral student Christie Allan put it to Iwokrama in a presentation of her research on indigenous knowledge (Iwokrama, Georgetown, 3/4/00):

There is a large sector of the community who do not want to be enlightened on the

things that Iwokrama wants to enlighten them on.

Despite the best intentions of Iwokrama, its advocacy role is an example of the phenomenon of 'political dispossession' as described by Fairclough (1995b:182):

To become an actor in the political field, any class or group of people must find professional politicians to represent them, which means, according to Bourdieu, that they must paradoxically become politically dispossessed in order to be politically represented.

It is a Catch-22 situation that the lack of Amerindian's symbolic power, both in their own eyes and those of the Government, means that they must be represented by organisations such as Iwokrama, while the continuation of such representation means that there is little transfer of symbolic capital in spite of the increased participation by local activists and the skills transfer evident in the accounts of Iwokrama's facilitating role above.

Similarly, the reliance on communications fora more familiar to the aid organisations than to local communities means that there continues to be a mismatch between the community habitus and the contextual fields in which community members are expected to operate. Combined with local activists' varying levels of competence in English and a failing by development organisations to relate issues sufficiently to grassroots concerns, this often entails a lack of *understanding* from the community in the double sense of comprehending the language used and relating to the opinions put forward. As with paternalism, this can be seen as a failing in praxis, in relating theory to practice. William (Tape 21, NRDDDB Meeting, Annai Institute, 4/11/00) refers to such a failure by Iwokrama to relate economic theory to community livelihoods at an NRDDDB meeting:

*And one of the things that I had realised at the SUA planning team was in - when we were in discussion of economics...and social, though we may have it in practice, we do not have it in theory, which made it a little bit difficult for us to have much of our inputs. You know what, if we could talk about, when you're talking about where which creek is, the rest of the participants would've... would be... they were quiet on that subject, or which tree is good for which creek. And when you're dealing with economics, you know, you're wondering what would be the economics of nibbi [a type of wood used especially in construction], what would be the economics of logging and I notice that the NRDDDB participants, we're a bit dormant in those areas, and it's simply because of, we are not (from x like) most of the participants that attended there.*

This lack of understanding leads to the lack of participation, even from the touchaus. As William put it to me when I raised this issue with him (Tape 24, Toka, 8/11/00):

*Why they don't contribute is because they don't understand.*

The vicious circle of dependence again becomes clear: lack of understanding leads to lack of confidence and so onto increased symbolic capital for outside experts. This helps to create the misrecognition by many community members that external resources are inherently superior and so confirms for them the need for outsiders to take the lead in such communicative fora, a process that is demonstrated in detail in Chapter 6. The ultimate outcome of this process is that the development organisations themselves accept their superior symbolic capital at face value and fail to consult with the communities at all or bypass community elders when consulting at grassroots level. As William (Tape 26, Toka, 9/11/00) puts it:

*As I was saying to Iwokrama, they think that, erm, they prefer to have a social scientist to do the work for them, because they feel that we are incapable of doing it. But they should learn from their experience of, now, the last, for the past six months or so the social scientists were working with the CEWs and so forth, and the ain't getting anywhere. And where, we could do the same work, give us your plan, what is it that you need, what you expecting, and we gon do it.*

These words recontextualise Forte's point that locals are employed only at the bottom end of the payscale in the tourist industry. Similarly, Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00), amongst others, makes the point that traditional knowledge is undervalued with respect to book learning:

*Though you're doing your part here, you're not getting your part coming back from Iwokrama. What I would expect at the end of the day is that we should be able to have boys that are actually, though they don't have a degree or anything in biology or, you know these kind of thing, that they would be able to actually operate practically on a par with these people, with the academics. You have a doctor come. That doctor, he's got a certificate, he gets so many U.S. [dollars] per day, but this poor man comes, then they give him a thousand five hundred [Guyanese dollars: about five pounds in total] and they say that's good enough, because that's good pay in Guyana. A thousand five hundred is not good pay in Guyana, because that is why the public service is fighting for more salary. [...] Cause they [the local experts] got the practical, you got the academic, so...*



As I was leaving Guyana, however, Iwokrama was beginning to use local experts as consultants and to pay them appropriately.

Problems in relating theory to practice and the need for local as well as book knowledge are also pinpointed by Uncle Fred as rendering agricultural workshops virtually redundant. Uncle Fred (Tape 41, 22/6/02) says that he has undergone such training “about a hundred times”, but that:

*... after it's finished now, it's a dead end. There's nothing now till you put on the ground. Teaching the indigenous people about that background, they know they are not - their education, and most of them when they go, whatever notes they have, they don't go back to it. Because to them it's no use going back to those notes, because they have nothing to practise with, you know, to try, experiment with. But you put that and you start up, I told them, "Start a plot of land, and experiment with that [...] what we want you to do is do a two-acre plot." For people, see the real way of land preparation, how you plant, how you... what plant husbandry is, how many times per week you goes to your farm, how you deal with weeds, how you deal with insects, when the harvesting time come, how you harvest, how you dry out, how you select or grade, and then how you would store.*

A related problem would appear to be the loss of functionality of local knowledge systems, as argued with respect to the paternalistic approach of the Government, and stemming from the banking approach to pedagogy that Iwokrama are also capable of adopting in the training of CEWs. At a training session I observed on zoological classification methods (Annai Institute, 6-8/11/00), though the interpersonal approach was extremely egalitarian, it was clear that the end goal was passing on imported classification systems rather than discussing points of interest in each system, the differences between them and the different cultural practices that gave rise to these differences.

These shortcomings in two-way communication can occasionally be magnified into a total lack of consultation, as when Iwokrama unilaterally overruled an NRDDDB election process or planned an aerial walkway over the forest without negotiating with or even informing the NRDDDB (Field Data). These failings in the Iwokrama approach are attributed by one Makushi elder to researchers “becoming Guyanese” and acting in the paternalistic manner of the Government and other coastal Guyanese towards Amerindians:



*Guyanese Coastlanders have a culture “We know best, we know it all”, and we the Amerindians don’t know nothing.*

Redford and Sanderson (2000:1363) note that:

It is not uncommon for top-down political coalitions to assume the role of speaking for the poor without showing that they actually do. The world of nongovernmental organisations and umbrella organisations speaking on behalf of indigenous or voiceless peoples in the forest can make superior claims to advocacy only if they can truly represent the populations they defend.

Such factors are examples of the ‘*vox nullius*’ approach to Amerindian perspectives that typify coastal Guyanese attitudes and seem, to some extent, to detract from Iwokrama’s own ideals, so that the advocacy and cooptation that international aid structures almost force upon them are at times barely distinguishable from the paternalistic attitude of the Government.

## **2.5 Difference, dialogue and the Third Space**

The onrush of modern economic and social practices at the latter end of the twentieth century has led to dramatic changes in the material culture of the Makushi people of the North Rupununi and provoked crises within the socialisation practices and face systems that had controlled the traditional cultural dynamic and which represented the means by which to integrate the changes in field into this dynamic. Efforts have since been made by the Government and NGOs to restore equilibrium to the ideological system by imposing their own social hierarchies and means of socialisation. These efforts, however, have resulted in systems of paternalism, advocacy and cooptation. Common to all the interpersonal and socialisation relations between indigenous communities and outside groups within these various systems of control is, to a greater or lesser extent, the loss by the indigenous community of control of their own development in terms of planning, realisation, or both. Table 2.1 illustrates this relationship and adds a fourth possibility, *transformational empowerment* (after Cameron *et al.* 1992b).

	community planning of action?	community realisation of plans?
paternalism	X	X
advocacy	✓	X
cooptation	X	✓
transformation	✓	✓

*Table 2.1 Approaches to development (after Cameron et al. 1992b).*

Without control over both the direction of their development and the means of pursuing that direction a community cannot maintain its cultural dynamic as there will always be a mismatch between the ideology in which the communities were socialised and the fields of activity in which they are expected to act. Community control over the direction of development is essential as neither the state, nor any other powerbroker, is capable of imposing development practice onto the cultural dynamic of the indigenous ideology:

The constitutional state can make this hermeneutic achievement of the cultural reproduction of lifeworlds possible, but it cannot guarantee it. For to guarantee survival would necessarily rob the members of the very freedom to say yes or no that is necessary to appropriate and preserve their cultural heritage.

Habermas 1994, in Brumfit 2001:134

Control over the realisation of development plans is needed to incorporate new practice into the traditional system; it is essential if there is to be any meaningful skills transfer, bringing with it capital transfer and, perhaps most important in the long run, a transfer in the balance of symbolic power.

The transfer to local control of both decision-making power and practical power (praxis, in other words) is therefore necessary to transform the relationship of dependency between the dominant and minority groups and to enable the minority group to develop according to their own cultural dynamic within the national context. Uncle Fred (Tape 33, Surama Rest House, 6/3/01) captures the need for control over both decisions and actions when he says:

*Well, I would want to see the captains support the NRDDDB more in word and in deed, and come up with more ideas of development. You have to develop. [...] And they'll have to*

*start thinking about planning, start forgetting about depending on other people to make decisions.*

It might seem, however, that the return of control to the touchaus and elders would signal a return to the dead-end of conventional authority, but this is not the case, as elders such as Uncle Fred recognise that the new sociocultural context includes the need to negotiate with external ideological systems. As Bruner (1986 *passim*) states, language is constitutive of reality, and as the opening text demonstrates, dialogue is the joint and contested construction of that reality. It is therefore essential that indigenous communities both hear and are heard at every level in the development process rather than retreat back into community insularism. Indigenous communities are well aware of the repercussions of being excluded from decision-making processes, as summarised by the Upper Mazaruni Amerindian District Council (UMADC) with reference to their longstanding conflict with mining companies operating in their region:

The Upper Mazaruni communities believe that failure to recognise and respect their land rights is the underlying cause of many of the problems they are currently experiencing, especially with mining, and that the only adequate remedy is to constructively address and resolve the land concerns of Amerindians, including sub-surface ownership rights and *rights to participate in decision-making about the use and exploitation of their resources.*

UMADC *et al.* 2000:11, my emphasis

With these words one of the more active Amerindian groups recognises the importance of having a voice and having that voice listened to, the notion that “communicative resources ... can be every bit as essential as real property resources were once considered to be” (Grillo, Pratt and Street 1987:213). Bourdieu similarly talks of the *symbolic power of language* (1991 *passim*). However, as with property resources and other means to power, the right to a voice is apportioned and Bourdieu’s position on the concept of *communicative competence* is that it should include the *right to speech*, which I expand to include both the ability to participate in dominant discourses as a *legitimate speaker* (Norton 2000:69, after Bourdieu) and the ability of minority groups to legitimate their own existing or transformed discourse. If indigenous communities can attain the power to impose their cultural voices, it would then be possible for them to use the constitutive power of language to create institutional contexts within the Discourse of Development that either arise directly from within their existing cultural context or are compatible with

it and absorbable within it, so leading to its dynamic expansion. The intellectual and practical input that is absorbed into the cultural system through the extension of discursive practices in both space and scope should thus enable the local ideology to develop according to its own dynamic. Steve (Tape 31, Rupertee, 28/2/01) for one sees the benefits of “mixing it up”:

*So Youth Challenge International worked with us on this project, right? And we're beginning to, now, mix. 'Cause firstly, there was a lot of shyness, I should say, you know people are not accustomed seeing people coming in here from different countries to work and to have this kind of erm relationship. And I believe that was one of the, one of the setbacks, caused failures too, by not mixing with different people. Right, and by mixing with different people and you share your knowledge and expertise and so on, you're able to gather something. Actually we had independent to be on our own good will and thing, and when people come finally have decided not to enter into a linking with one another. But, what I notice now, people, in Annai of itself, generally, there is a lot of mixing up going on. Right. And if you go to NRDDDB you see how many people mix up. Right, and the mixing bring up what? Togetherness. Unity. And because why? At that level they understand what to relate on, how important is relationship. Without CIDA we could not have got money. That's one good thing relating with CIDA. Right? We could not have got the expertise to draft out the plan if we had not been mixing. So that mixing up brings about what we hold today in our community.*

In Habermas's (1984) terms (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:83-89; Cooke 1994), the juxtaposition, or “mixing up”, of traditional and modern ideologies creates tensions between the authority of local tradition as *lifeworld* and the expert *systems* of the dominant society. These tensions can be resolved either through the *colonisation* of the lifeworld by the system and the acculturation of the former within the dominant pattern, as demonstrated for the processes of paternalism, advocacy and cooptation, or through the *appropriation* by minority groups of valuable structures from the dominant system and their incorporation into their own cultural dynamic. As Sydney puts it with respect to the challenges presented by the imminent road from Brazil: “Use the road, or the road will use us”.

In terms of fields of activity, interpersonal relationships and coherent systems of social organisation, ‘using the road’ represents a broadening of the ideological system through the appropriation and adaptation of external influences in a practice of dynamic expansion that Habermas calls *communicative rationality*, “the increasing capacity of people to use communicative action to reflect back on and redeem itself” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough

1999:85), the formation of “‘post-conventional’ identities, people who are not [rigidly] positioned within traditions but able to creatively remake themselves through creative reworking of inherited social resources” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:84). Such a rationalisation of the lifeworld introduces the mechanisms and routines necessary to “reduce the burden upon communicative action” as it “vastly expands in scope and scale at a potentially crippling cost” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:85), as in the fishing example above.

The suggestion that indigenous action can develop within itself as a result of exposure to external influences might appear contradictory in terms of what has been said above about the relationship between the field of socialisation, the constraints of habitus and the contextual field of action. But an agent’s habitus is to be seen as a *disposition* to action rather than a determining force. While primary socialisation shapes and constrains action, there is always room for what Bourdieu (1990a:104) calls “the transgressions of wise men”, those actors who are able to expand and develop the ideology within the bounds of its own rationale. Graham (Tape 34, Iwokrama, Georgetown, 24/4/01) points to the existence in practice of communicative rationality and the transgressions of wise men:

*We actually have more arapaima now then we did last year. So the management's happening, but it's not happening becau- in the same way that you have management plan, and everybody follows the management plan, it's actually happening because people, individuals are making decisions at different levels and some are – the more and more individuals are making decisions to do, to go this way rather than to go that way [...] and it happens through communication, and it's not, it's not the old way of managing where the touchau would decide. But that's starting to come back too. The authority figures are starting to appear in the communities and they are making decisions. And they're being respected. [...] If the powerhouses make decisions, it does affect a number of their constituents. So, yeah it is making a difference, and yes, things are being managed, but it's not, it's not like the management plan says “Do this, do this, do this, do this, do that.” It's a very diffuse thing, and it's very loose, and it's not something that you could really grab hold of.*

What this process points to is a burgeoning cultural autonomy, the development of a separate identity within the nation-state, and a reconnection of field and habitus in a modified dynamic, but an indigenous dynamic nonetheless.



At the Iwokrama Workshop on Critical Issues in the Guiana Shield (Pegasus Hotel, Georgetown, 6/12/00) the Touchau of Touchaus for Region 9, Tony James, spoke of the need for Amerindian peoples to “reconcile to the modern world”. However, he went on to claim that before this was possible it was first necessary for the indigenous population to regain their respect for their own culture (Field Data). In Bhabha’s (1994 *passim*) terms, it is necessary, before confronting *the other*, to undergo a *critical discourse* with the self, to go beyond the impression of a culture that is monolithic in itself and discrete from all others. Once the multiform and dynamic nature of one’s own culture is recognised, it becomes possible to understand in greater depth the significant similarities with and differences from other cultures and ultimately “to conceive of the articulation of antagonistic or contradictory elements ... the *negotiation* of contradictory and antagonistic instances that open up hybrid sites and objectives of struggle” (Bhabha 1994:25). According to Fishman (1989:85), such “syncretism is a far greater principle of nonideological daily life than either intellectuals or elites care to recognise”, so that Bhabha’s critical approach is merely a conscious attempt to speed up and control the natural processes of cultural syncretism and development and “[u]ltimately the issue becomes not *whether* but *what* or *how much* to admit into the inside” (Fishman 1989:85).

Bhabha (1994:34) states that the articulation of distinct cultures and the resulting hybridity do not demand homogeneity, but a politicisation of *cultural difference* to be forcefully declared “as knowledgeable, authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification”. For without a deep understanding of their cultural system and respect for their *difference*, minority cultures are prone to misrecognise as inevitable their current subjugated position, as Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00) recalls:

*So when you look at that, what I’m saying is that, you’re going to still have schools, you’re going to still have a lot of things, er, you would still have people that would speak Makushi, and that should be encouraged, right, because what I find today, one of the big problems with Amerindians, I think it’s very important, one of the big things I’m finding out, is why we can’t go forward? Why we are ashamed? Ashamed of our culture, and we know we get this nametag that they put on us as ‘buck’ in Guyana, but we are always ashamed when people call us ‘buck’ and these kind of thing, and they always look down on us because “You are no good; you’re a non-entity; you’re the one that knows nothing,” right? And they can tell us that because we don’t know what we know. We don’t know where our roots are, right? And if you go back to the East Indians, they could always look back to India, they don’t look to Georgetown, what makes them proud is*

*India. And even the Africans are proud because of Africa. [...] But with the Amerindians, especially like the Makushis and the Wapishanas, those in Guyana, the Caribs, Waraus, whatever it might be in Guyana, nine tribes, they don't have nothing to look to, but perhaps a few mountains, a few thatch-roof houses, right? Some naked savages in the fifteenth, in 1492, right? So that's all we've got to look to, look at, right? And then, as our tribes we don't have any heritage, we don't have anything to look back, history to show that we have any civilisation, so when people tell you, like, it's real to you, right? [i.e. you become willing to accept others' interpretation of your history]. But then that's if we look at ourselves as Makushi and Wapishana; if we look at ourselves as the Amerindian people that escaped, that came over across the Bering Strait and came travelling down this way, if that would be the right thing, right, if we look at that, then we could go back to the Incas, the Mayans, the Aztecs, and when we look at that we see great civilisation, then we have something to be proud of, and until Amerindian people... now if you notice, the African people have a similar problem, where you find that Martin Luther and all of these different men, Bob Marley, they came back and they started singing to like establish Africa, and now they go back and they start to use things like 'The Cradle of Civilisation is Africa'. That put something into them. Now if the Amerindians could actually see we actually had links with the Aztecs, we actually had links with the Incas, we actually had links with the Mayans, our empires were great, we are a great people [...] So you see these things could be taught to the children in school at a early age; when they coming back you wouldn't be able to go and tell...you could imagine you go outside and I use this in one of my, erm, presentations, you go out there and...I used to go to school in Lethem, and these boys are coming, you know I used to smoke then, and they would come and say, erm, I would say "Gimme a ciggy, nah?" and they would turn and say, "(xxxxx), buck people have no got cigarettes." And you know the first people that actually smoked was Amerindians, you know? Then, you didn't know that, right, so you feel so bad, you know, like, you really didn't, you didn't know about smoking, then it should have been in the reverse: I should have been telling them "Yeah, yeah, this is buck people thing you know." If these things are taught to the people you finds that there's a cultural, I don't know how to put it, I guess there might be some anthropological term [...] something like, they could look back at those things and it makes them (xx) heritage. They have a heritage...*

However, if the strengthening of traditional identities does not take place within a context of openness to a wider dialogue with other ideologies, the result is simply a regression to the conventional authoritarianism and the dangers of either the fossilisation of outdated modalities unviable in the inevitable encounter with the modern and/or the colonisation of these outdated modalities within the dominant systems:

the dangers of the fixity and fetishism of identities within the calcification of colonial cultures [would recommend] that 'roots' be struck in the celebratory romance of the past or by homogenising the history of the present.

Bhabha 1994:9

As counter to these twin threats of romanticism and homogenisation Bhabha (1994 *passim*) proposes the creation of a “third space” that accommodates the cultural *difference* of all participants. In terms that resonate with the concepts already developed of dynamic systems and cultural expansion and development, he refers to this space as a “borderline work of culture” that

demands an encounter with ‘newness’ that is not part of the continuum of past and present. It creates a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation. Such an act does not merely recall the past as social cause or aesthetic precedent; it renews the past, refiguring it as a contingent ‘in-between’ space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present. The “past-present” becomes part of the necessity, not the nostalgia of living.

Bhabha 1994:7

Sánchez Gómez, a Tseltal Indian from Chiapas, Mexico, views this image of a third space from a different perspective (Sánchez Gómez 1998:50-53, all translations mine). In relation to his native Oxchujk’ (Oxchuc), he describes a “space of resistance” to European influence, a “final refuge...the nucleus of indigenous governance”, a space which is “jealously cared for by the indigenous leaders”. Around this nucleus is the space of “survival and contradiction”, where, “for reasons of survival, the existence of institutions from outside the community is permitted” so as to “protect the nucleus from the onslaughts of national society”. This is a dangerous and ambiguous zone, inhabited by “government agencies, the priest, the doctor, the bilingual teacher, the community development programme officer”:

Now when the school and the bilingual teacher are divorced from the space of resistance, that is, when the teacher stands apart, becomes acculturated and favours national society, the community itself places them in the space of contradictions; therefore, by definition, they are apart from the indigenous community, even though they are indigenous by origin, and come to be seen as an agent of the state. But when the bilingual teacher aligns himself more with the indigenous community, then the school and the teacher are situated within the space of resistance.

Sánchez Gómez 1998:51-52

Sánchez Gómez’s alternative metaphor is important as it shows that various domains of community life and the agents involved are closer to the forum of the third space than others, and that here are concentrated both the efforts at a dynamic hybridity and the

weight of sociocultural resistance. In the case of the North Rupununi these agents are the community elders and the touchaus as well as international development organisations such as Iwokrama, and the linguistic analyses in Chapters 5 to 7 will focus on whether these agents are operating within Sánchez Gómez's *space of resistance* or his *space of contradictions*.

## **2.6 The symbolic capital of language systems.**

If the local cultural dynamic is to aspire to communicative rationality it must engage in dialogue with the wider world, and this means that it will have to learn to communicate and negotiate through one of the dominant languages of the area, for as Uncle Fred (Tape 41, Surama Rest House, 22/6/02) says: *nobody gonna learn Makushi*. While Portuguese is a contender, sociopolitical factors on the whole point to what Brumfit (2001:79) calls "the fact of English".

Similarly, the institutional settings in which Makushi representatives on the broader stage will have to operate will by and large be those of the international development community, as Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00) acknowledges:

*We got to realise that westernisation is like what actually controls the world, so you... somewhere along, the two things have got to meet, the indigenous people have got to recognise that some amount of westernisation must have to be accepted. Because when you look at it, you've got to deal with those people, and they can't change their whole programme just to accommodate a small percentage of a population.*

However, underlying the discussion of language use in this thesis is Halliday's (1978) notion of language as a *social semiotic*, communicating and negotiating speakers' orientations to 'reality' and to each other in culturally codified forms. In this definition, a language does not refer either to the means of verbalising 'pure thought' or absolute 'truth values' or to a set of possible lexicogrammatical constructions, but to contextually-bound behaviour that both reflects and creates the ideology and cultural dynamics of its speech community at all levels of context. Any language system is thus coconstitutive with the socioculture that has 'been evolved' in tandem with it so that the language native to a



culture is best suited to represent that culture, and that culture is the site within which the language is best able to function as a deeply meaningful system. This applies not just to national languages, but also to context-specific language use, such as institutionalised development discourse, which has evolved to reflect the ideology and suit the needs of the international development community. The use of a dominant language in negotiating fora would therefore seem to contradict what has been said above about creating a third space where minority groups have an opportunity to negotiate on equal terms with dominant groups, for even those from the minority group who are native speakers of English will be operating in a social semiotic field quite different from their own field of linguistic socialisation, while non-native professionals within development organisations can be expected to be suitably socialised into the discourse conventions of 'development English'.

There are four main advantages that would be expected to fall to native speakers of the dominant language or to those who are most socialised into the *social semiotic* of institutional contexts:

- (i) ease of speech in the language of negotiation, as captured in Uncle Fred's (Tape 41, Surama Rest House, 22/6/02) observation that:

*there are times you would listen to the presentation, and you look at the audience, and you know, you can tell, they ain't get raas [i.e. understand bugger all].*

- (ii) familiarity with the contextual conventions of the institutional setting, suggested by William's (Tape 24, Toka, 8/11/00) notion that:

*... in one way, the things that Iwokrama is bringing is giving us knowledge, but then the other thing is that when we've come to find out what they are telling us, is actually what we know, with just in one language you're telling us this way, where, in our language, we put it this way.*

- (iii) an ideological advantage, in that language is a cultural vector and the use of one language promotes the culture behind this language at the expense of the other culture. As a consequence, non-native speakers may struggle to get their full meaning across, as suggested by William in his request for



local participants to fall back on Makushi if they cannot express themselves properly. At a deeper level, Eugene (Tape 27, Toka, 10/11/00) says of the oral transmission of culture:

*They can keep with their mind the language more than the English equivalent, so if they keep that language, it would mean the next generation is going to be there with the same knowledge of the past generation, exactly like it was, because it's orally passed on. Right? But if you are trying to get them to keep that now in English, it's more difficult, so some of it is going to be lost.*

A similar feeling possibly prompted Emily (NRDDB Meeting, Annai Institute, 4/11/00), who is fluent in English, to announce *This is not our language* in response to the almost exclusive use of English in NRRDB meetings.

- (iv) enhanced prestige, as the use of one language (or specific register) over another bestows symbolic capital on that language and, by extension, the culture it naturally transmits. This is a two-way process exemplified above by the mutual association of prestigious domains such as the school and dominant languages such as English.

The question then arises whether it is possible to appropriate the resources of English, and specifically the English of development organisations, for use as a vector of other ideologies in a process that reverses or at least neutralises these four effects by creating a linguistic third space in which semiotic difference can be displayed, understood and respected. This thesis aims to show not only that such a third space is possible, but to show that it already exists in the linguistic practice of several key Makushi speakers. Chapters 6 and 7 between them analyse the distinctive use of institutional English by these speakers. Before turning to this analysis, however, I consider in greater depth the notion of language as a social semiotic and associated questions of language and power.

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<sup>1</sup> The terms *minority*, *majority*, *dominant* and *dominated* are all the object of debate. May (2001:82-89), for instance, discusses several different sociological constructions of *minorities*, of which *indigenous people* is one. As I am dealing with only a single situation in this thesis I have not felt such distinctions necessary, and have instead mixed my metaphors by referring to *minority cultures* on the one hand and *dominant cultures* on the other. This is an attempt to highlight the problems arising from the relative size of the minority groups rather than dwelling with almost deterministic pessimism on the qualitative label

*dominated*, while emphasising the power of the dominant languages internationally rather than their mere size. These seem to me the relevant distinguishing characteristics of each group in the terms of this thesis, yet by mixing categories in this way I also suggest that the two categorisations are neither mutually exclusive nor permanent.

<sup>2</sup> Guyanese dollars. G\$1000 is roughly £3.75 at the time of writing.

<sup>3</sup> There would appear to be some confusion in the literature as to whether the terms field, tenor and mode refer to the aspects of context that motivate linguistic variation or the realisation of that variation itself. I shall refer to the former as social activity, face relations and socialisation context, and the latter as the field of discourse, the tenor of discourse and the mode of discourse. These terms and the relations between them will be explained in detail in Chapter 3.

<sup>4</sup> The term *goal* is extremely vague and can range from microstructures such as "attracting attention" to macrostructures such as "holding a workshop". This is part of the reason why the term is widely contested.

<sup>5</sup> While cultural and linguistic rights are important issues in themselves it is difficult to preach to the unconverted on these issues. The thrust of this thesis is therefore to emphasise that the rupture of cultural systems has a negative social and economic impact on communities and inhibits their sustainable development.

<sup>6</sup> The term "symbolic and material culture" here refers to the set of routinised activities of a particular group.

<sup>7</sup> Adapted from Scollon and Wong Scollon (1995:97), see note 10.

<sup>8</sup> The rebellion was an attempt at secession in the aftermath of independence and the increased marginalisation of the interior as Georgetown-based politics became increasingly embroiled in the interracial disputes that characterise it today.

<sup>9</sup> Even in official documents such as the National Development Strategy (2000) I can find no serious statistics on education levels.

<sup>10</sup> 'Ideology' in these terms does not carry connotations of totalitarian propaganda, but refers to the underlying rationale of any belief system. Scollon and Wong Scollon (1995:97) depict a discourse system as the interplay of ideology, face systems, socialisation practices and the forms of discourse employed in these spheres. This representation places ideology on the same level as the social systems through which it is instantiated in practice. This thesis places it at a higher level to encompass a community's material and symbolic culture, the face systems through which people interrelate, and the socialisation practices through which these first two are transmitted, reproduced and developed.

<sup>11</sup> The Act is currently being revised with input from indigenous groups and it will be interesting to see how the balance of these participant roles changes within it.

<sup>12</sup> *State* is used here to describe a political unit, *nation* a cultural one.

## **Chapter Three: Language as a Social Semiotic: The Power in and behind Language.**

### **3.1 An introduction to Babel.**

On Pentecost Sunday as I was writing this thesis I heard a new interpretation of Babel, opposing the idealist view by which the multitude of languages on Earth represents a fall from a natural state of perfect communication. According to this other view, the descendents of Noah who had settled in Babel were living the easy life, but this easy life was in disobedience of God's command to go forth and multiply and fill the face of the Earth as it had not stretched them cognitively or experientially, the community having only a simple language with few words. For this reason, God scattered the people of Babel and removed from them this common and simple language, forcing them to discover new experiences and new ways of reading the world. Babel then, was not a punishment, but an inducement to sociocultural and cognitive development, represented by the diversity of language necessary to conceive of the world in its entirety, the culturally specific codes this implies, and the level of intellectual effort required in intercultural communication.

Jerome Bruner, in his book *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (1986:12-13), draws a distinction between two different modes of cognitive functioning: the *paradigmatic* or *logico-scientific mode*, which "at a gross level...deals in general causes, and their establishment, and makes use of procedures to assure verifiable reference and to test for empirical truth"; and the *narrative mode*, which "deals in human or human-like intention and action and the vicissitudes and consequences that mark their course. It strives to put its timeless miracles into the particulars of experience". The theory of grammar put forward in this chapter and underlying this thesis, however, is that these two modes are never discrete, as cognition is channelled through natural language systems that are derived from and cannot escape from the "particulars of experience," so that supposedly "verifiable reference" will always be framed in terms of "human or human-like intention and action...and consequences".

In general terms, the need to interact with our natural and social environment will determine the nature of our working conceptions of the world, so that naturally evolving language systems are both the product of their sociocultural context and vectors for the further transmission of these cultural systems. This is the dual aspect of the notion of languages as semiotic systems that both rely on and reproduce their social context, as *social semiotics*.

The first part of this chapter looks in some depth at the relationship between grammar and social context, and in particular at how a sociocultural system imposes itself on the linguistic behaviour of its members - the *power behind* language (Fairclough 1989 *passim*) - and the problems arising when one sociocultural group is obliged to operate within the linguistic context of a different, dominant group. This is the paradox of minority cultural groups having to use a dominant social semiotic system within the discourse of development, as presented at the end of Chapter 2. The second half of the chapter then suggests how speakers might be able to imprint their own social orientation onto alien contexts through language as behaviour - the *power in* language (Fairclough 1989 *passim*). These two opposing forces are seen as operating simultaneously in discourse situations involving dominant and minority groups, as with the NRDDB and Iwokrama, where the power behind established ideologies continues to constrain interaction even as it is being challenged. A theoretical model illustrating the tensions generated by the simultaneous operation of the power behind language and the power in language is developed throughout the chapter and this will be used as a basis for the analyses in later chapters of texts from the development process. The chapter concludes by looking at the possibility that the discursive power of the new ideology can be used to promote a linguistic third space that accommodates the diverse sociocultural groups involved in the Discourse of Development in Guyana.

### **3.2 The cognitive, functional and social origins of language**

The theory of grammar outlined in this chapter brings together ideas from various cognitive, functional and social theories of language in an attempt to describe the relationship between mind, language and society in terms that can be related to issues of



language and power. Basic to this conception of language is the notion that human skills are developed in response to their natural environment and that these skills have progressed, in qualitative terms, from purely physical adaptation to cognitive, social, and ultimately reflexive and linguistic conceptualisations of the relationship between humans and their environment. The account of language evolution here follows Berger and Luckmann's (1967) general framework for social evolution and the theories of linguistic evolution as developed by Donald (1998) and Worden (1998). Two corollaries to this basic premise are then developed : that language systems are not neutral mappings of reality to symbol but culture-specific constructs; and that language production is not a process of free choice from an infinite set of possibilities but is constrained to some degree by the cultural history of the language group, the socialisation of speakers within this wider culture, and the social situation in which language is being used.

### 3.2.1 Linking language, mind and culture.

In contrast to realist theories of language, by which linguistic terms correspond to independently existing entities, Berger and Luckmann (1967) describe the evolving understanding of our physical and social environment as *the social construction of reality* and explain the mechanisms that account for individual socialisation into this reality. According to Berger and Luckmann's perspective (1967:70-76), as humans explore the relationship between their bodies and their physical environment, they learn to interact with this specific environment in a prelinguistic process of *externalisation*. The activities adopted towards the environment are then subject to *habitualisation*, leading to a narrowing of choice, an "important psychological gain" as it allows a minimum of decision-making, freeing the mind for deliberation and innovation. *Institutionalisation* comes about once a correlation develops between these habitualised actions and the "type of actor" who performs them. As these institutions develop, they become less associated with the circumstances of their causation and in time they "crystallise", come to be regarded as objects rather than constructs. "Social Man" is then in a position to interact with social constructs as if they were natural objects and the collective becomes involved in a dialectical relationship with their product, which "acts back upon the producer". In summary, "externalisation and objectivation are moments in a continuing dialectical



process, the third moment in this process...is internalisation (by which the objectivated social world is retrojected into consciousness in the course of socialisation)” (Berger and Luckmann 1967:78-79). Social evolution is thus best represented as a dynamic system, where the response to a stimulus affects the environment within which further stimuli occur. In this view, further applications of the same stimulus will not necessarily produce the same response.

Berger and Luckmann’s evolutionary framework accounts for the development of prelinguistic cognitive skills as a level of understanding of the most salient and socially relevant aspects of the physical environment. Such an understanding would clearly lead to a natural selection advantage, and once an ‘executive suite’ (Donald 1998 *passim*) of such skills and their organisation and interrelation had been developed, relating these skills back to the physical and social environment would allow for enhanced prelinguistic communication and pave the way for the appearance of language. It would thus be expected that as language developed from prelinguistic communication systems, by whatever means, it also concentrated on the most salient and socially relevant aspects of the environment, and this is the approach outlined in various versions of cognitive grammar theory. This section focuses on the evolution of clause grammar in cognitive terms, while later sections relate these ideas to a broader theory of discourse.

Typical of cognitive explanations of grammar are the prominence and attentional views (Ungerer and Schmid 1996:xii-xiii) and the trajectory/landmark asymmetry view (as explained in Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:247). The prominence and attentional views have both developed the relationship between perceptual salience and grammatical subjecthood in language, for example. According to the prominence view, the sentence

3.1 *The car smashed into the tree.*

differs from

3.2 *The tree was hit by the car.*

in terms of “the different degrees of prominence carried by the elements involved in the situation” (Ungerer and Schmid 1996:xii). According to the attentional view, “what we actually express reflects which parts of an event attract out attention” so that Example 1 reflects the salience of “only a small section of the event”, and ignores other crucial factors behind the final event or state of affairs such as the car losing control, skidding and heading off the road towards the tree (Ungerer and Schmid 1996:xiii). The trajectory/landmark point of view is similarly based on primitive human perceptual needs and capacities:

In describing an event, such as a person moving past a tree, we take one part (substructure) of the scene as the focus of our attention, such that it is distinguished from the rest of the scene... The part given this special attention is the ‘figure’, while the background which provides the setting and reference point for the movement of the figure is the ‘ground’. What is taken as the figure and what is the ground is a matter of perspective.

Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:247

For Role and Reference Grammar (n.b. Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:25), which attempts to reconcile cognitive and formalist approaches to syntax, it is a universal of language to distinguish grammatically between core arguments of the verb, relating to the salient features of the event (such as the tree and the car in the examples above), and the periphery (such as “on the A702 yesterday”, for example). In a process similar to Berger and Luckmann’s institutionalisation, stereotypical participants in different processes will become fixed in the grammar as a “part of the semantic representation of the verb” (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:26). The semantic representation of the verb thus interrelates the mind, culture and language: as a minimal cognitive frame or mental stereotype; as the representation of a culturally salient event; and as a syntactic structure within the linguistic system, the *valency frame* of the verb (n.b. Allerton 1982).

Brazil (1995:55), on the other hand, suggests that valency frames are not so much structural elements within a specific linguistic system, but are rather a result of the relatively unchanging nature of the process described and the participants it involves. If an alternative relationship between process and participants could be conceived of, the arguments of the verb would simply match this concept.

Combining Brazil's perspective with that of RRG, I adopt a position where the valency patterns of a language form a minimal constituency requirement unless extreme contextual forces prompt more creative forms. In such a view valency patterns of verbs are normative rather than immutably fixed. A recent innovation in valency patterns (not in the 1994 Collins English Dictionary, for example) would be the intransitive use of OBSESS as in:

3.3 *She's always obsessing about family commitments.*

as opposed to the older:

3.4 *She's obsessed with family commitments.*

It could be argued that the new pattern, by which the obsessed becomes the obsessor, reflects a modern 'western' focus on personal emotions. Whether this is the correct explanation or not, the example demonstrates that valency patterns are mutable rather than fixed. Changes in human experience, or the perception of it, and the requirement on the grammar to expand to cope with this (semogenesis) are thus sources of tension to the existing norms, a point that will be developed later.

Beyond perceptual salience, the functionality of objects in the human environment can be identified as an influence on the development of language. Its influence on lexemes and noun classification in particular is discussed by Lakoff (1987:31-38), who draws on and adapts the psycholinguistic work of Berlin and his associates on basic-level categorisation. Lakoff (1987:32) defines this basic level as: the level of distinctive actions; the level which is learned most easily and at which things are first named; the level at which names are shortest and used most frequently (usually single-word or even monosyllabic lexemes); and a natural level of categorisation, as opposed to a level created by "achievements of the imagination" (such as botanical or zoological classification systems). His study shows that basic-level categorisation of the natural world is not dependent on supposedly acultural scientific criteria, but on culturally specific factors such as salience and functionality (Lakoff 1987:37): for an urban culture TREE may be a basic-level categorisation, whereas for a rural or forest culture the basic

level would be at a higher degree of distinction in scientific terms (Lakoff 1987:36-37), as the uses of different tree classes are more salient within that culture. In other words, linguistic categorisation is not built up from universal and innate semantic primes, but is functionally motivated and culture-specific.

Once language as a reflection of the physical environment had acquired a critical mass, it was able to redeploy the resources developed towards introspection. This qualitative shift is outlined in Lakoff and Johnson's seminal *Metaphors We Live by* (1980), which is based on the premise that man's early contact with his physical environment provided "systematic metaphorical concepts that structure our actions and thoughts" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:55). Thus, for example, through the metaphorical concept /IDEAS ARE PLANTS/ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:47) speakers draw on the natural environment in order to comprehend abstract notions such as ideas becoming firmly planted, coming to fruition, or dying on the vine. The production of coherent and extendable metaphors such as this means that the relationship between sets of participants and processes is understood in terms of an underlying system that unifies conceptual and lexicogrammatical patternings and in this way, language and culture can be said to be learned together in a mutually reinforcing dynamic that is better labelled *language socialisation* than *language acquisition* (Mohan and Marshall Smith 1992:85).

We do not learn or construe meaning with respect to an asocial real world but with respect to the discursive activities of others within the world, with respect to other texts. To say something is 'blasphemous' or to learn to see it as so is to relate to other uses of BLASPHEMOUS and the system of values within which they are meaningful (*cf.* Lemke 1995:22-25-49, after Bakhtin). We have construed a meaning potential for the lexeme BLASPHEMOUS and by employing it we locate a situation within that meaning potential, bringing both the lexeme and the state of affairs to life in the process. Peñalosa (1981:42) sums up the extent of the formative role of language on understanding:

The social reality which is internalised includes the acquisition and understanding of classification and interpretation schemes (including folk taxonomies) as well as concepts of space, time, causality, motivation, relevance and value hierarchies. They [children] learn what is considered to be problematic. All this is filtered and mediated through specific varieties of language.

All this is not to say that “music, painting, transcendental meditation, food, sex and religious ecstasy” (Hugh Trappes-Lomax, personal communication) do not have meaning outside language, but that to be ‘known’ as such, to be considered by the individual and to be given a value, to contribute to the development of the individual’s discursive mind (Harré and Gillet 1994) and hence to social interaction, they are ultimately reliant on the language system: their coherence and value are not so much reality as reality as it is construed through language. From our earliest youth we are obliged to see as others see, not necessarily because of the structure of language, as Whorf (1956:134-160) would have it, but in order to understand what others are talking about and so to acquire our mother tongue(s). Hasan (1996:29) illustrates this point with regard to a mother-daughter dialogue on how plants ‘die’, and leaves it open whether such a discussion is “about language or about facts”. Following the view put forward here, and Hasan’s implication, the distinction is invalid, for if a proposition “can be demonstrated to be true in all conceivable possible worlds, then it is almost certainly a truth that derives from the nature of language rather than from the world” (Bruner 1986:45).

Berger and Luckmann’s approach to socialisation seems then to be as valid for language acquisition as for any learning of behaviour: “language appears to the child as inherent in the nature of things, and he cannot grasp the nature of its conventionality. A thing is what it is called, and it could not be called anything else” (Berger and Luckmann 1967:77). Once humans have externalised their being onto the outside world, have construed the world according to their physical, cognitive and social nature (as described by Berger and Luckmann [1967], Lakoff and Johnson [1980], Lakoff [1987] and other cognitive linguists), and then objectified this experience through naming, through language, this experience is then reinternalised in its linguistic form, giving linguistically constructed reality the appearance of ‘reality’ and prompting its future construal according to the language that names it. This of course implies that different cultures will, to some extent, have different construals of reality. The following sections examine the extent of these differences and the social consequences that arise from them.



### 3.2.2. Halliday's metafunctional approach.

It follows from the above outline of the evolution of language that universally salient and functional features of human interaction with the environment will tend towards universal representation in natural language systems. The cognitive views illustrated above suggest that there should be high universal lexicogrammatical distinctions to reflect the differences between movement/change and stasis/permanence, and it would seem that all the world's languages do mark some such distinction through distinct parts of speech comparable to verbs and nouns in English. Similarly, though they mark the distinctions in widely divergent ways, most languages clearly differentiate between those participants responsible in some way for an action and those who are seen as passive 'recipients' of that action. Both of these distinctions relate to language as a representation of some event or state of affairs, as *ideation*. However, as we saw in Chapter 2, languages go beyond mere representation to take on board *interpersonal* face systems and the "proper treatment of the social person" (Brown and Levinson 1987:23) and to tailor speech to the context of utterance and the unfolding text itself. These three aspects of the lexicogrammar, the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual, represent Halliday's three *metafunctions* of language and they are believed to be universal properties of languages.

According to Halliday (1975 *passim*), natural languages have evolved to deal with these three aspects of meaning simultaneously and such an evolution also occurs in individual language acquisition. Whereas the utterances of children of up to about 18 months are individually monofunctional, these separate functions are gradually combined within a more complex clause structure, to the point where adult language realises ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning in single utterances. In this view, the clause "expresses...some state of affairs and some rhetorical stance through the [ideational and interpersonal] choices of transitivity and mood respectively" (Hasan 2000:31), while textuality "realises a text's method of development, the angle of perspective the text takes up with respect to the information it constructs" (Martin 2000:286). The three metafunctions have already been touched upon as descriptive categories for stretches of text in Chapter 2; in this section I consider them from a psycholinguistic perspective as components that link mental concepts to the lexicogrammatical features of clauses as

speech acts. The important point to bear in mind is that each of these perspectives is dealing with the same phenomenon: the metafunctions are not separately categories of mind, clause and text; they are the unifying force underlying the cognitive, linguistic and social aspects of language.

Following Halliday, an utterance is simultaneously an ideational, interpersonal and textual act, with the speaker's orientation within these three metafunctions instantiated in language through an amalgam of corresponding lexicogrammatical features: the ideational instantiating the speaker's conceptualisation of the semantic value and interrelation of entities and events; the interpersonal constructing social relations of interaction; and the textual fitting the resultant message to the linguistic context, the physical and social context, and the speaker's assumptions regarding their interlocutor's level of background knowledge. This section describes how the three metafunctions are amalgamated within a single clause to instantiate a speaker's complex orientation to context and as such sets up a basic psycholinguistic model of the three metafunctions in the real-time production of contextualised utterances as the speaker uses language to *latch onto and develop* the ongoing social activity. This brief explication of SFL theory is thus intended as an illustration of the link between society, mind and language, between context, concept and utterance, and it will be drawn upon later in discussing the limitations of textual analysis.

Ideationally, the lexicogrammar allows/forces a speaker to construe an event as a particular process type, such as material, mental or verbal, and to assign participants to roles particular to this process type, primarily roles such as Actor or Senser (the subjects of active clauses, or A-roles in Allerton's [1982] terms) on the one hand, and Patient<sup>1</sup> or Phenomenon (the objects of active clauses, or O-roles) on the other. Alternatively, it could be said that the roles are assigned first with the process type chosen to fit these or, most likely, that the underlying concept in the speaker's mind lexicalises the process and assigns roles simultaneously as part of a holistic view of the event (*cf.* cognitive approaches, above). The A (from Agent)-role is the participant deemed by the speaker to be "most relevant for success of the activity" (Dixon 1991:11), so that allocation of responsibility will lead to choices such as representing a process as 'buying' or 'selling',

with the A-role differently assigned in each. Structurally, A-roles in English are marked according to the inherent valency pattern of the process type.

In these terms the ideational metafunction is the means of instantiating a mental representation of an event as a linguistic proposition relating a Process to the Participants and the less central Circumstances involved, as the ideational analysis of the English structure “One day the boy will kick the dog” in Figure 3.1 demonstrates. The ideational representation shows the transitivity relationship between the Participants and Circumstances in the Process:

one day	the boy	kick	the dog
Circumstance:temporal	Actor	Process	Patient

*Figure 3.1. Ideational representation of “One day the boy will kick the dog”.*

This representation, however, is no more than an abstraction until it is incorporated into the ongoing discourse as a speech act through the resources of the interpersonal metafunction. This involves the speaker revealing their commitment to the truth or possibility of the proposition as an event through the choice of Subject and the introduction of the Finite element of tense or modality. Participants are grammaticised interpersonally according to the salience accorded them by the speaker, as Subject or Complement, or peripherally within the adjunctive phrases. The Subject of a clause is what the clause is ‘about’ “from the interpersonal point of view” (Thompson 1996:48). The Subject has most relevance for the truth of the sentence as it is “that element of meaning which the speaker assesses to be most at risk – most likely to be a candidate for the listener rejecting the proposition” (Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997:65)<sup>2</sup>. The Subject carries this responsibility through its connection with the Finite, which realises the tense, polarity, mood and modality of the clause - the mental space in which the process is to be conceptualised (and therefore beyond simple truth values in real time, *cf.* Sweetser and Fauconnier 1996). Structurally, the Subject governs the main verb and precedes it in declarative clauses in English. The analysis in Figure 3.2 recasts the ideational proposition of 3.1 as a statement concerning the Actor (and thus in the active voice) that demonstrates fairly strong commitment to the future truth of the proposition

(through the use of the Finite element WILL). The Residue refers to those interpersonal elements not in the Mood.

one day	the boy	will	kick	the dog
Adjunct	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Res-	Mood		-idue	

*Figure 3.2. Interpersonal representation of "One day the boy will kick the dog".*

Drawing a concept into discourse requires it to be placed in time/imagination (through tense/modality) and space (through the Subject), to become negotiable. According to Eggins and Slade (1997:78), "the Subject and Finite constitute the 'nub' of the proposition: in order to interact we need both something to argue about, and some way in which to argue". The way in which to argue (and with whom to argue) are indicated by the conjunction of Subject and Finite as the Mood element, as described by Thibault for declaratives (Thibault 1995:59) and interrogatives (Thibault 1995:60):

In declarative clauses, the Subject is the grammatical entity in which the speaker modally invests the clause as exchange. The speaker assumes the modal responsibility for the modal investment which is made. The Finite element is the locus of the speaker's investment; it defines a subjective person-place relationship in relation to which the utterance is spoken, and acts as the locus around which the subjective presencing of the speaker is organised...this may be defined in terms of: (a) time relative to the time of speaking, or primary tense; or (b) the speaker's modal investment in the proposition which is being made with respect to the Subject.

In interrogatives "the configuration Finite^Subject... functions so as to invite the addressee's own subjective investment in this [proposition]".

However, drawing the addressee's own investment into the discourse covers not only requests for information, but also for goods and services, so that the structure Finite^Subject is also used to this end. Requests for goods and services are generally distinguished from requests for information by the inclusion of a modal verb as the Finite element, as in

### *3.5 Could you open the window, please?*

and are considered more polite than straight imperatives. This makes sense in terms of the principle that the ability to perform an action is a prerequisite for carrying it out so that a check on this aspect can stand in for the request itself while leaving the person requested with a face-saving path to escape that does not amount to a straight refusal (Searle 1976, in Brown and Levinson 1978:132).

Interrogation can also be realised through a combination of the declarative word order and intonation, though in such cases it usually means something other than a straight request for information, such as an expression of doubt. Intonation in English is generally the medium through which suprasegmental attitude is expressed. Other phonetic features such as accent are also considered here as meaningful components of an utterance inasmuch as social information carries equally as much value interpersonally as the choice of Mood, for example.

Beyond assigning transitivity roles and subjecthood, a speaker must also tailor their utterances to their interlocutors so as to facilitate their “actively responsive understanding” Bakhtin (1986:97). Within the textual metafunction there are two systems for highlighting and tracking participants: as Theme of the clause, “the point of departure for the clause” (Halliday 1967:214), setting the scene for the concept to be developed and negotiated; and as New information up for negotiation. The Theme is generally considered the first ideational element in the clause, though analysts do not all agree, while the New element receives tonic prominence. Everything after the tonic element is Given; however, the exact extent of what counts as new information leading up to this point is not explicitly signalled and contextual factors have to be considered (Halliday 1994:295-298). The textual metafunction is the means by which utterances, as messages, are themselves features of the context in which they are situated and so relate to other features of the context. Thus the organisation of clauses by Theme and Rheme relates the message to the ongoing context; the distribution of information as Given and New relates the message to (the speaker’s impression of) the addressee’s knowledge; and the nature of the message as a Rhetorical Unit (RU) relates it in time and space to the activity in hand (see Chapter 7 for a fuller analysis of RUs). Figure 3.3. gives the textual



analysis of “One day the boy will kick the dog” (which functions as a Prediction RU)<sup>3</sup>.  
The bold type represents tonic prominence:

one day	the boy will kick	the <b>dog</b>
Theme	Rheme	
Given		New

Figure 3.3. Textual representation of “One day the boy will kick the dog”.

As the textual metafunction serves to groom the clause as message to fit the cotext, the addressee’s knowledge and the activity in hand it can be regarded as smoothing the path for what is being said, or *naturalising* it with respect to the circumstances of its utterance.

The three metafunctions should not be thought of as operating in linear succession, with a proposition becoming linked to the discourse and then tailored to fit it more neatly: utterances operate as social actions through the interaction of the three metafunctions which between them instantiate a complex concept that relates simultaneously to ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning, as in Figure 3.4:

one day	the boy	will	kick	the <b>dog</b>
Circ.	Actor	Process		Patient
Adjunct	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Res-	Mood		-idue	
Given				New
Theme	Rheme			

Figure 3.4. Representation of “The boy will kick the dog” from all three metafunctions simultaneously.

3.2.3 From universals to relativism.

While the three metafunctions and the realisation of specific functions within them, such as the control of speech turns and politeness strategies, are considered universal, particular uses, such as the signalling of respect for age through the resources of the interpersonal metafunction, are not universal, having evolved within a mature and culturally specific dynamic system. Nash (1971:21) lists some of the factors that

influence the evolution of individual languages, but warns against falling into *linguistic determinism*:

We have certain ideas about time and place, about the scope of our actions, about agency itself, about the one and the many, the specific and the general, the actual and the possible – in fact about the problems which our experience and our culture have forced upon us: and these ideas are ultimately preserved in the grammar of our language, not in such a way as to reveal a national or racial character... but perhaps a faint impress, a sort of fossilisation, of the experience which, collectively, we have found to be of central importance in our struggle to cope with our environment.

The idea of “faint impresses” and “fossilisation” match the view from Dik’s version of Functional Grammar (Dik 1997:126), which is founded on a social interpretation of lexicogrammar, but denies that linguistic form relates synchronically to the cultural system and beliefs of its present speakers:

[T]he interpretations embodied in the predicate frames of a language have sedimented into the linguistic system through centuries of historical development. There is, in many cases, little reason to suppose that present-day speakers, if they express themselves by means of codified interpretations embodied in the predicate frames of their language, actually have the world view which these interpretations would suggest.

Thus, it would be foolish to assume that the German gender system bears much relation to the beliefs of present-day German speakers or that the compulsory use in modern English of plural YOU to refer to individual interlocutors demonstrates the civility of the English-speaking peoples. However, the shift in pronoun usage in French, from the marking of power differences through the ‘plural’ form to the marking of solidarity through the ‘singular’, might well reflect a present-day shift in social relations (Fairclough 1989:71).

In this regard, Hasan (1996:191-192) has claimed an intracultural “parallelism between verbal and non-verbal behaviour, both of which are informed by the same set of beliefs, values and attitudes” (Hasan 1996:191-192). In a comparative study of English and Urdu semantic styles, Hasan (1996) has shown that for Urdu “the system of language permits a much higher degree of implicitness than that permitted by the system of English” (Hasan

1996:232), and she attributes the possibility of such implicitness in the language system to the fact that in Urdu culture “the [sociocultural] role system maintains highly determinate boundaries, regarding which there is a great deal of communal consensus” (Hasan 1996:237), so that there is often little or no doubt as to the identity of those participants not explicitly identified in the clause.

A further, more simple, example of the congruence between verbal and non-verbal behaviour comes from my fieldwork in Guyana. The Makushi ideological system grants more respect to elder people than, say, British culture, and this face system permeates cultural activity, including greater participation from elders in the discourse of the community. The respect accorded in practice finds its verbal counterpart in the use of *UNCLE* not only from children to elders and strangers, but also as a form of respect shown by all to the most respected members of the community, as with Uncle Fred.

A cultural system, however, is “a large and complex knowledge system spread between the various members of a particular culture, and hence consisting of many sets of knowledge” (Leckie-Tarry 1995:20). It is thus like Saussure’s *langue*, existing nowhere in full measure but only as the sum of many parts. This means that there is no monolithic ‘culture’ and that each cultural system contains within it variations, exceptions, and even countercultures. Different social groups will have different *codes* that relate situation to response to utterance in their own way, while various *institutions* have their own ideologies and discourse practices to match, systemically related to each other and the wider cultural dynamic, but distinct nonetheless. Even at the level of the individual it is impossible to talk of a unitary subject, as explicated in Halliday’s (1974:9-10) portrait of advanced socialisation:

Let us start [seeing individuals in a social perspective] with the notion of the individual human organism, the human being as a biological specimen. Like the individual in many other species, he is destined to become one of a group; but unlike those of all other species, he achieves this – not wholly, but critically – through language. It is by means of language that the ‘human being’ [‘homo grammaticus’] becomes one of a group of people. But ‘people’, in turn, consist of ‘persons’; by virtue of his participation in a group the individual is no longer simply a biological specimen of humanity – he is a person... The individual as a ‘person’ is now a potential ‘member’: he has the capacity to function within society, and once more it is through language that he achieves this status... Being

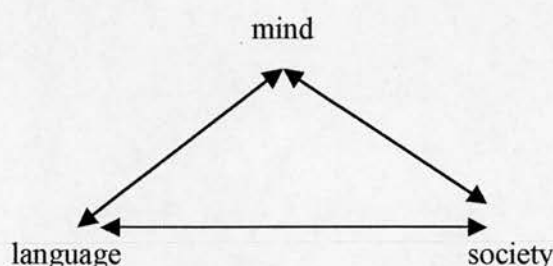
a member of society means occupying a social role; and it is again through language that a 'person' becomes potentially the occupant of a social role.

Social roles are combinable, and the individual, as a member of a society, occupies not just one role but many at a time, always through the medium of language. Language is again a necessary condition for the final element in the development of the individual, from human being to person to what we may call 'personality', a personality being interpreted as a role complex. Here the individual is seen as the configuration of a number of roles defined by the social relations in which he enters; from these roles he synthesises a personality.

The 'self', then, is a complex brew, and the 'mind', according to Harré and Gillet (1994:25), is the force capable of making a coherent personality out of the various discourse systems to which an individual belongs. The mind/personality/self is thus, ultimately, a discursive construction. It is the keeper of conflicting and potentially destructive tensions. This multifaceted image of personality and social positioning is often neglected in analysis where subjects are commonly viewed both as typical and unimaginative representatives of their class and as representatives of only that class, as species to be labelled and observed.

Given the complexity of human personality and the multiplicity of social situations in which we find ourselves, it is necessary to revert to Berger and Luckmann's notion of stereotypes, only on a larger scale, to be able to make sense of our condition and navigate our way through these different situations. This notion relates the self to wider cultural norms as individuals learn to handle various situations through identification with the other in an attempt to be more like them (Berger and Luckmann 1967:151). Cognitively, different contexts are "(socially-based) mental constructs, or models in memory" (van Dijk 1997:16), while Bruner (1986:69) refers to "scripts and stories and 'loose associative chains'" as "templates for canonical ways of fusing" cognition, affect and action "into self-directing patterns - ways of being a self in transition". Relating this interconnection of mind and society to language we can say that every discourse type establishes a framework or schema of *subject positions* which those who operate within it are constrained to occupy (Fairclough 1989:102). Thus, van Dijk (in Fairclough and Wodak 1997:265-266) "argues that no direct relationship can or should be constructed between discourse structures and social structures, but that they are always mediated by the interface of personal and social cognition". According to van Dijk, cognition is the

“missing link” in demonstrating how “societal structures influence discourse structures and precisely how societal structures are in turn enacted, instituted, legitimated, confirmed or challenged by text and talk”. The mind strives to make sense of the disparate contexts with which it is confronted and the different facets it is called on to display. This triangular and mutually dependent relationship between society, the mind and language provides a model for the theory of language as developed this far:



*Figure 3.5. The mutual dependence of the mind, language and society.*

The role of cultural stereotypes as frameworks on which to build consensual interaction means that we are exposed to socialisation and ideology from the cradle to the grave. If we were not so susceptible, even willingly so, we would not be able to speak to each other or understand each other at any level, from the simple sentence through to the social meaning of contextualised behaviour. Without mastering the subject positions we are thrust into, we would not be able to develop or challenge them (*cf.* Vygotsky's [1986:Chapter 6] *Zone of Proximal Development*). Analyses that reject a discourse pattern as dehumanising or authoritarian simply because it shows too rigid a structure or because one figure routinely takes the steering role should therefore be treated with some caution. It is important to identify convention and authority and the ideologies they embody and to analyse them from a critical perspective; but a critical perspective is not one that always criticises. Social coherence demands an ideology or a conjunction of compatible ideologies. Recognising socialisation and the role of discourse within it allows us to judge whether the existing structures are equitable or not; whether they are compatible with other, more valued ideologies; whether they should be maintained, modified, transformed, rejected or destroyed. But there is no a priori reason to opt for their rejection or destruction.



### **3.3 Language as constrained behaviour**

The above section showed how the lexicogrammar of a language at clause level relates to the social context of its evolution and introduced the notion of scripts and schemata to explain how we manage to function in larger stretches of discourse. The following section will look at the relationship between these larger stretches of discourse and the social context of their realisation.

The stereotypical contexts in which a social agent finds themselves can be referred to loosely as *institutions*. Following Brown and Fraser (1979:40) institutional organisation comprises “interpersonal networks; institutional domains; and activity types as culturally recognised units of interaction that are identifiable by constraints on (a) goals, (b) roles activated in the activity, (c) interactional structure, and (to some extent) (d) participants and settings”. Institutional constraints and values operate upon each of the three metafunctions.

Within the ideational metafunction, for example, the context of institution limits and orientates, through the social activity in progress, the choice of subject matter, the depth in which this is discussed, and the way it is presented through transitivity features such as process types and participant roles. These features comprise the field of discourse.

While the symmetry between context and subject matter might appear obvious, there is in fact considerable room for variation in the consideration of what is relevant to the topic and appropriate to the institution, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 7’s analysis of intercultural asymmetries within what is nominally a unitary institution, the NRDDB.

With regard to transitivity features, Duranti (1994), working within Anthropological Linguistics, looks at the use of various constructions from different participants in the Western Samoan *fono*, a “village council in which titleholders in the community discuss political and judiciary matters” (Duranti 1994:2) and concludes that:

When we look closely at the grammatical form of the utterances produced by matai [titled people] in a fono, we find that the frequency of certain types of grammatical patterns is correlated with the nature of the event and the political roles of its participants.

Duranti 1994:142

Duranti (1994:142) surmises that the impressions of outspokenness towards one participant were

left by the linguistic choices he made during his public speeches in the fono, including his rhetorical style of using a higher percentage of utterances in which specific parties would be linguistically framed as initiators of events...

Thus the contextual field, in this case comprising matters of law and politics, is central both to the language produced and its interpretation. In this thesis, Chapter 6 looks at the assignment of Initiator, Actor, Patient and Beneficiary roles in the 1976 Guyana Amerindian Act as a key document in the Discourse of Development.

Duranti's example also points to the importance of the *face relations*, the interpersonal histories and relationships of participants, in imposing constraints upon the tenor of the discourse. Clearly, relations of power and intimacy, whether based on momentary alliances, stable social roles or temporary institutional sources of power, weigh upon language choices such as the directness of speech acts, the allocation of speech roles and the use of formal or informal language, the features that comprise the tenor of the discourse. The institutional context of the NRDDDB, for example, with its democratic and egalitarian ethos, permits and even encourages lengthy and uninterrupted turns from all participants, while influential members of the local community, such as Uncle Fred, and elected members of the Board itself are allowed to speak for as long as it takes them to make their point.

Studies on interpersonal factors influencing language choice within turns have largely dealt with the subject of 'politeness' and the ways in which variables of power and solidarity between interlocutors affect the language used. Brown and Levinson (1987:74) claim that the factors affecting politeness strategies in requests are power, social distance, and the ranking of the imposition within the particular culture (the last modified to the 'weighting' of the imposition in Scollon and Wong Scollon [1995:42ff]). Eggins and Slade (1997:52-53) move beyond notions of politeness to list - and further subdivide - the linguistic correlates of status, affective involvement, contact and 'orientation to affiliation', the desire to belong to the same social group. As an example of this practice

from my own data, I have observed how within the institutional context of NRDDDB meetings, speakers with greater prestige, no matter how well known or how frequently they participate, receive the honorific preface “none other than X”, a usage not quite corresponding to British English, where it expresses an element of surprise.

Drawing a distinction between stable, societal sources of power and solidarity and those created temporarily by the context of institution, the nonunitary nature of the subject becomes evident and language choice will vary according to the dyadic dynamics at any one time. For example, Uncle Fred (Tape 21) opens a speech from the floor of the NRDDDB with the words:

*Er, Mister Chairman, I would now like to ask a question and then make some comments.*

Uncle Fred chooses this formal term of address despite the fact that the Chairman is Sydney, his eldest son, and so demonstrates that for him the institutional relationship of speaker-chairman is more salient than the father-son relationship at this point.

With regard to the textual metafunction, institutional factors constrain not only the choice of channel but also the participants thematised and the extent to which language comprises the activity in hand. In terms of channel, NRDDDB Meetings are largely spoken, though they include the reading of written reports by specific participants, and the salient points of the meeting are written up as minutes and read out at the next meeting. In terms of thematisation, scientific discourse has a tendency to use nominalisations of prior processes as Themes, as in Example 3.6:

*3.6 This combination of gases is highly volatile.*

In terms of the relationship between language and activity (all capitalised technical terms from Cloran 2000:175, see Appendix 2), NRDDDB meetings mix points of order that relate directly to the meeting as a process itself (Commentaries); written and spoken accounts of community life outwith the meeting (Reflections); and information sharing on issues remote from community life (Accounts and Generalisations). Within the institutional format of traditional education, which employs the ‘banking’ tradition of schooling,

language is stereotypically used to create instructional and regulatory *socialisation contexts* (Cloran 1999:46, after Bernstein 1990) through the description of events far removed in time and space from everyday community life (Recounts and Reports respectively). A transformative approach to pedagogy would try to balance these decontextualised uses of language with other rhetorical modes that interact more with the immediate context, such as discussion of current activities (Commentaries) and community life (Reflections). This distinction between the decontextualised use of language that constitutes an autonomous activity and language which is integrated, to different extents, with community activities proves to be very important when it comes to the description and explanation of new and complex processes within NRDDDB meetings. Chapter 7 includes an analysis of such an explanation (Tape 21, NRDDDB Meeting, Annai Institute, 4/11/00) where Uncle Fred, representing the local community, and Simone, representing Iwokrama, approach the subject from different perspectives, with Uncle Fred's use of contextualised language proving much more accessible and informative to the local audience.

Institutional and contextual constraints operate upon all three metafunctions at once, sometimes radically, as this exchange between myself and my daughter Sadie demonstrates:

3.7 *Tom: It's illegal to say you're a doctor when you're not.*

*Sadie: I'm a doctor, I'm a doctor, I'm a doctor - so put me in prison.*

Sadie wins the exchange because of the difference between the constraints on the real context of father and daughter (tenor) on a hillside using language to relate (mode) examples of fraud (field) and the constraints on my hypothetical institutional context of a person in a white coat examining a patient in a surgery and using language to assert their right to do so.

It becomes clear then that institutional contexts and contexts of situation not only affect what may be said and by whom, but how their utterances are to be interpreted. It can thus be said that linguistic production is, to a greater or lesser extent, constrained. The following section examines the extent of the constraint.

### **3.4 The determinism of response.**

Fairclough (1989:74) states that if

there are systemic constraints on the contents of discourse and on the social relations enacted in it and the social identities enacting them, these can be expected to have long-term effects on the knowledge and beliefs of an institution or society.

This viewpoint reiterates the dynamic relationship between the mind, language and society, and is exemplified for Coupland and Coupland (2000:208) in medical geriatric discourse, a discourse they claim:

constructs diverse social positions for participants...these are far more than rhetorical positions (who speaks to whom about what). We are interested in the social alignments and confederations that are discursively constructed and the moral rights and obligations that are thereby implied to exist for participants.

Taken in extreme form, these restrictions on subject positions would amount to linguistic determinism, a position taken up in different ways by thinkers such as Foucault (1972) and Pêcheux (1982). For Foucault (1972:117), working at the level of cultural determinism, “discursive practice” is determined by the intellectual spirit of the age and the “archaeology of knowledge” which underlies this. Particular Discourses are thus embedded within wider social constraints so that discursive practice:

must not be confused with the expressive operation by which an individual forms an idea, a desire, an image; nor with the rational activity that may operate in a system of inference; nor with the ‘competence’ of a speaking subject when he constructs grammatical sentences; it is a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function.

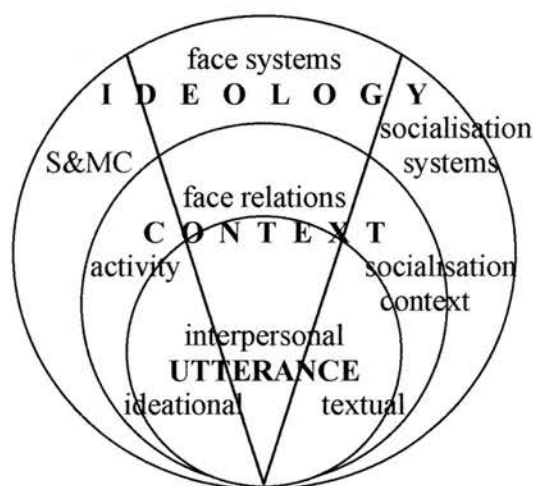
Foucault later tempered his ideas on top-down determinism, yet many French thinkers on Discourse retained this strong view of determinism. Pêcheux (1982:112), for example, shares the thrust of Foucault’s early stance, but for him the force of determinism is not so much the intellectual structuralism of the age working on largescale Discourses but rather



the political ideology latent in every act of discourse . For him agency in speech is illusory, with ideology forcing individual speakers into subject positions:

[I]ndividuals are ‘interpellated’ as speaking-subjects (as subjects of their discourse) by the discursive formations which represent ‘in language’ the ideological formations that correspond to them.

Glossing Foucault’s “body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period” as ideology/context of culture, and Pêcheux’s “discursive formations” as the institutional context within any ideological system, determinism in discourse would simultaneously operate at the level of culture and institution. It would also affect all three metafunctions, so that the determining effects of ideology on individual utterances could be represented along the lines of Figure 3.6, elaborating Figure 2.1, in which the larger circles are to be seen as determining the realisation of the smaller circles within them and the three-way division represents the three metafunctions (as exemplified in Section 3.2 above)<sup>4</sup>:



*Figure 3.6. A strongly deterministic model of the constraints of ideology on utterance. S&MC = Symbolic and material culture.*

This thesis, however, follows Bourdieu (1990a *passim*) in taking a less categorical stance on the determinism of social, and by extension, linguistic action, so that the interrelations illustrated in Figure 3.6 will have to be modified. For Bourdieu, while social action is

constrained by ideology and by context, it is not determined by them. Rather, the context of a social actor's upbringing, their primary socialisation, forms within them certain "acquired dispositions" to action, stemming from a single underlying ideology, the sum of which constitute that actor's *habitus* (Bourdieu 1990b:13). An actor's habitus does not represent hard and fast rules, but rather an ingrained *logic of practice* that actors *orient* to in order to derive benefit from their current *field of action*. Crucially, Bourdieu's notion of practice allows for the complementary concept of *tension*:

Quite apart from the trouble-makers who call into question the game itself and its apparently flawless mechanisms...even when the agent's dispositions are as perfectly harmonised as possible and when the sequence of actions and reactions seems entirely predictable from outside, uncertainty remains as to the outcome of the interaction until the whole sequence is completed.

Bourdieu 1990a:98-99

And for exceptional actors the tension undermining habitus can, at least temporarily, be exploited, through "the transgressions of 'wise men' who violate the official rule in the name of a higher law" (Bourdieu 1990a:104). In so transgressing, these wise men are capable of arresting the reproduction of social roles that conformity fosters.

In linguistic terms, a speaker's habitus is their *code* (e.g. Bernstein 1973 [Ed.]), their ingrained disposition to verbal action, acquired through a process of language socialisation that simultaneously teaches a native language and a cultural system:

[I]t is through the use of language by adults that a child both learns his language and 'learns his community'...It is from the information [...that] feedback supplies that the child not only learns his language in terms of its semantics, grammar and phonology, but learns also the values of the community in which he lives, because these values are embedded in the language.

Doughty and Doughty 1974:35-36

The orientation to context, constrained but not determined by the habitus, is, in Bourdieu's terms, a form of practice intermediate between determining structures and autonomous events. In linguistic terms, the range of speech acts open to a speaker at any given time depends on the *meaning potential* of the context in which they are situated, "the set of options available to the speaker... the range of alternatives that is open to him" (Halliday 1981:122).

Habermas (1984, in Pusey 1987; Cooke 1994; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999), like Bourdieu, denies the social determination of linguistic production, but unlike Bourdieu looks beyond situated encounters and strategic uses of language. Reiterating themes from Chapter 1 and projecting notions to come, for Habermas social evolution is fundamentally communicative and reaches its culmination in a society based on reflexive and rational intersubjective dialogue aimed at understanding and agreement, what he calls communicative rationality.

Fairclough, who draws strongly on the writings of Foucault, Bourdieu and Habermas, follows the latter two in his ambivalence towards the totalising effect of social determinism and works their theories into the specifically linguistic framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, n.b. Fairclough 1989, 1995a). While Fairclough clearly sees a pattern of top-down linguistic domination, the driving force of his work is the belief that the power structures in language can be turned back on themselves to emancipatory effect through Critical Language Awareness (CLA, n.b. Fairclough 1992 [Ed.]) and through research, including discourse analytical research on actual forms of dialogue in:

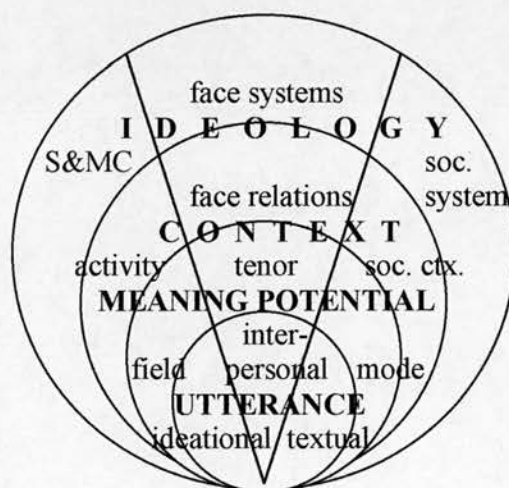
politics, and in other domains, with the objective of arriving at detailed accounts of the practices of dialogues in late modern societies which can discern the obstacles to practices of and potentials for non-repressive dialogue across difference.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:136-137

The contrast between the determinism of Foucault and Pêcheux and the scope for transgressions, communicative rationality and non-repressive dialogue across difference of Bourdieu, Habermas and Fairclough, can be brought out in the distinction between process and product. Viewing social structure or discourse as post hoc products creates the impression that each (speech) act is merely filling a slot within a complex structural framework, a slot that no other act could fill. This gives an impression that this act was preordained for this slot. Such an approach, however, fails to capture the tension inherent in the process that constructed the seeming post-hoc unity of the product. In other words, discourse is an ongoing act of negotiation in real time which, if successful, will have as its product a coherent pattern that may be mistaken for predetermined structure. This, to me, is the fundamental error in Foucault's (1972) "archaeological"

approach to officially sanctioned Discourses and Pêcheux's notion of the "interpellated speaking subject" in discourse. This is not to deny that frameworks exist to which speakers orientate, nor even that such restrictions are socially desirable (as stressed above). What it does emphasise is that in practice participants do not follow rules but employ strategies that orient towards normativity and that this entails constant negotiation between interlocutors if interaction is to be successfully constructed as a joint enterprise (see e.g. Clark 1996 *passim*) within arenas of social and linguistic tension.

This room for manoeuvre means that a speaker's orientation to context is a result of their active *subject positioning* rather than the agentless filling of a *subject position*. While the speaker is not entirely an autonomous subject, as social codes and institutional norms represent different constraints on their actions, they do have the ability to choose from within these constraints, to choose an individual response from within the meaning potential of their code to attend to the meaning potential of the situation. Figure 3.7, in which each larger circle *constrains but does not determine* the smaller circles within it, incorporates the concept of meaning potential into the working model of the theory of power behind language as developed so far:



*Figure 3.7. A weakly deterministic model of the constraints of ideology on utterance. S&MC = Symbolic and material culture.*

However, this model is also flawed in that it represents the meaning potential generated by the context of the situation and the meaning potential open to potential speakers as occupying the same space, a situation that is true only for those operating in familiar

contexts and equipped through primary socialisation with the linguistic code adequate to this context. Socialisation, however, is far from universal, and although children all master their own codes, “the kinds of meaning which [they associate] with the contexts of situation where these uses of language are prominent may vary considerably from one child to another” (Halliday 1974:31). In the words of Martin (1992:495):

[M]eaning potential is not evenly distributed across a culture (any more than material resources are). Access to genre, register and language as semiotic resources is mediated through discourses of ethnicity, class, gender and generation...

The uneven distribution of meaning potential means for Bourdieu (Thompson 1991:2) that everyday linguistic exchanges between agents are:

situated encounters endowed with socially structured resources and competencies, in such a way that every linguistic interaction, however personal and insignificant it may seem, bears the traces of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce.

Bourdieu elsewhere (1991:76-77) describes discourse between individuals as an exchange of the *symbolic power* realised in language, with speakers anticipating the market value of their utterances. However, the market is fixed in that there are many circumstances where people are expected to function within the heterogeneous norms of a dominant group such that there is a mismatch between the meanings theoretically potentialised by the contextual field and those actually open to certain participants through their own particular code, “the orders of meaning that a subject is predisposed to” (Hasan 1999:24) as a result of their socialisation. Hasan (1988, in Martin 1992:580) sums up the situation (with specific reference to class, though holding true for all sociocultural distinctions):

- should material conditions of social life differ markedly either across culture or across strata within the same culture, then the form of social interaction will also differ;
- if social interaction differs across segments of the same society, then different forms of consciousness will arise;



- since consciousness is central to carrying out social functions, different forms of consciousness will find expression in (amongst other things) different orientations to meaning; in such societies semantic variation is logically predicted;
- communication between speakers with distinct semantic orientations will give rise to problems, for the words of the one will be filtered through the divergent viewpoint of the other.

The conclusion reached here seems to echo the core problematic of Interactional Sociolinguistics (n.b. Gumperz 1982 and 1982 [Ed.]) and the study of intercultural communication in terms of a mutual misunderstanding between different social groups. However, the repercussions are less mutual if one discourse system comes to pervade the culture disproportionately, leading to an unequal distribution of power between these groups and their respective codes. The following section considers potential responses to such an imbalance in the power of codes, looking first at the reproduction of social inequalities before turning to consider the possibility of parallel social systems and finally the room for counter-discourses that set out to disrupt the dominant ideology .

### **3.5 Social repercussions of the power behind language: Codes and symbolic power.**

Imbalances in *linguistic capital* (i.e. the symbolic capital associated with speakers of a particular code and hence the code itself) can be institutionalised by those who have the material power to control the institutions of state, or the public domain. In the classic case this involves the dominant elite imposing their own code within the institutional contexts of public life in the name of standardisation, seen or portrayed as an essential part of the process of building or maintaining the unity of a homogeneous nation-state (the historical processes of standardisation are described in depth in Grillo 1989 *passim*; Joseph 1987 *passim*; and Bourdieu 1991:43-65). While often portrayed as an egalitarian move to provide equal access for all to the institutions of the state, 'unification' under an elite 'standard' clearly favours the existing dominant elite, a point picked up by Fairclough (1989:89):

Seeing existing language practices and orders of discourse as reflecting the victories and defeats of past struggle, and as stakes which are struggled over, is, along with the complementary concept of 'power behind discourse', a major characteristic of critical language study which differentiates it from descriptive 'mainstream' language study.

Within the public domain the standardised language is heralded as the norm of everyday life and the standard of civism. Its use is imposed through the civil service and the law courts, where access to social rights and justice is regularly dependent upon use of the dominant code. It is more than simply a matter of making yourself understood in real-time discourse that is at stake here, however, as the universalisation of the dominant code within the public domain reproduces and naturalises the field to which the dominant habitus is disposed and so makes the very act of participation within public discourse inherently problematic for speakers of less prestigious codes.

Despite the fact that standardisation favours one sector of society, far from always being Machiavellian, this process is also linked to *banal nationalism* (May 2001:80, after Billig 1995:27-28), the unwitting superiority complexes of those who cannot themselves see beyond the common sense of their own ideology and so view it as a neutral standard against which others are marked as 'ethnic' or 'nationalist'. Nevertheless, there are certainly Machiavellian elements who knowingly indoctrinate 'the other' and, as Lemke (1995:13-15) points out, the threat of punishment and physical pain often underwrites the authority of dominant discourse.

One of the most visible institutions where the dominant code is indoctrinated under threat of force is the public education system, where the dominant form is often taught to the exclusion of other codes and where minority forms (and their speakers) are frequently pilloried, subdued, and banished from both the schoolhouse and the schoolyard. Even where this is not the case, the employment of the dominant code and the consequent opening up of the associated meaning potential throughout the education system means that those who are most at home in this context of institution, whose habitus are best disposed towards the institution as a field, are most likely to achieve academic success and from here financial and material success.

It is also within the higher levels of the school system that the rules of formation (Foucault 1972:37-39) of prestigious Discourses are learned (Cummins 2000:59). Given that the possibility of attaining this level of education is already related to the 'mother code' of the student, and overwhelmingly so in the tertiary sector (only 0.1% of the Guyanese interior population have received any form of post-secondary education (Forte [1996a:18]), the domination of the linguistic market by those already possessing linguistic capital is strengthened and perpetuated.

The interrelation between the dominant code and educational success means that the elite code becomes a form of symbolic capital, a prestigious attainment that can be transformed into material power and goods through the enhanced access it offers to employment and positions of authority. And as material success is seen to be proportional to mastery of the dominant code (though with cause and effect distorted), the myth of its inherent superiority becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. Once this comes about the elite have achieved the naturalisation of their discourse as common sense, as a neutral standard to which all other codes appear as marked and divergent and so inappropriate to the prestigious discourses from which they have been banished. Further, the speakers of minority codes themselves begin to believe the myth of the neutrality and inherent virtue of the standard and so begin to devalue their own codes, even within the private domain, and their symbolic capital is further devalued in a process that Bourdieu and Passeron (1990:31-32) call symbolic violence, a result of the misrecognition by the dominated groups of the processes that have led to the current status of their codes. In the long term the elite code is associated with modernism and social mobility while the minority codes are associated with backwardness and poverty. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990:4) describe this process as follows:

Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations.

Thus there is a power behind language that differentially affects the capacity for power in language of different social groups, and while it is possible for individuals from non-elite

groups to 'attain' elite norms, a feat misrecognised as the 'American Dream' and inspiring the myth of universal social mobility, a more common result is academic underachievement as the linguistic requirements of the institution and the situations within it are driven by an alien discourse system resulting in a mismatch of field and habitus for the non-elite group. This means, in Fishman's (1991:20) terms, that for non-elite groups operating within elite institutions the link between language and ethnocultural identity is ruptured so that the individual has difficulty in forging a coherent discourse system (and therefore a discursively constructed 'self', as above) with respect to either their native ethnies or the elite. This mismatch is even stronger in situations such as that in the Rupununi where the naturalised language of public institutions is not only an alien code for native speakers of English, but for the majority it is a foreign language, so that access to the language of prestigious discourses is at a further remove.

Even for the academically gifted student with multilingual skills, second-language immersion from primary school onwards might mean that they will be able to develop high levels of communicative skills, but that their second language skills are generally not appropriate to the specifically academic language skills that a native speaker is acquiring at this point in their education and that lead to further academic progress and linguistic capital and material power in other fields (Cummins 2000:35-74). Cummins also points out that overestimation of second-language skills based on conversational ability can lead to diagnoses of learning disability or retardation as children are unable to perform up to expectations in academic subjects in the second language. The incredible figure, given above, that 14% of Guyanese hinterland scholarship students fail to gain any academic qualifications from their education on the coast might well be a related problem.

Such are the naturalised symbolic capital of the elite language and the symbolic violence perpetrated on minority languages, however, that this state of affairs does not seem to affect the symbolic capital of the elite code, but rather to reinforce it, as if more of the same were the only cure. Hornberger and López (1998:208) describe how in the Andes, "although... only a small percentage of the population attains social advancement through formal education, [both] schooling, and the Spanish language with which it identified, are

nevertheless perceived as the route to social mobility". In this respect those non-elite groups who seek to attain symbolic power generally suffer a 'double whammy', for at the same time as they devalue their own codes, their continuing academic failure means that they are unable to achieve prestige in the elite Discourses to which they might aspire. Thus the system manages to coerce people into adopting the dominant code while still retaining the social distinction that legitimates power.

In summary, the standardisation and naturalisation of a dominant code throughout the institutions of the public sphere and even into some aspects of private life means that within socially influential domains a certain sector of society is able to employ the code most suited to their habitus, giving them a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic responses, their *behavioural potential*, while those from other social groups, if they wish to be recognised as legitimate voices, are forced to employ a code that does not match their habitus and so limits their behavioural potential within these domains. Or so the story goes. But things are never so straightforward, and maybe even the telling of the story in these terms is to misrecognise the weight of the power of the elite code, recognising as powerful what the elite has labelled as such. For non-elite codes have their own symbolic capital in what are considered - by the elite - less prestigious domains. Eckert's (2000) study of the Jocks and the Burnouts, rival high-school in-groups, demonstrated how each group's socially distinctive activities are geared towards building bonds of solidarity with those sections of society most likely to be of help to them once they leave school. For the Jocks this entails the use of one sociolect, amongst other non-linguistic variables, while for the Burnouts it entails another, with different forms of prestige attached to each one. Eckert (2000:210) concludes, with regard to linguistic as well as other variables, that the "knowledgeable construction of local styles is a function of integration into local networks and access to local information."

Data such as Eckert's makes redundant the notion of covert prestige and its classist connotations. Similarly, if I use the wrong register in an Edinburgh pub and someone calls me a "middle-class wanker" it would be hard to classify their prestige for their own dialect as covert. More appropriate terms of reference for analysis in these spheres is provided by Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT; e.g. Giles and Coupland



1991, Chapter 3), which examines in depth the social factors behind register convergence and divergence and permits the notion of multifaceted personalities:

At one level, accommodation is to be seen as a multiply-organised and contextually complex set of alternatives, regularly available to communicators in face-to-face talk. It can function to index and achieve solidarity with or disassociation from a conversational partner, reciprocally and dynamically.

Giles and Coupland 1991:60-61

While one form of empowerment might be seen as the emulation of or acceptance by the existing elite, another is the ability to restore prestige and power to the domains of your own sociocultural group, increasing the symbolic capital of the codes employed in these domains and rebalancing the relations of power between discourse systems within the culture. Within the domain of bilingual education and the Andean situation described above, Hornberger and López (1998:208) talk of the “tension between conflicting conceptions of education as a selective and narrowing route to elite power and as a universally available route to a pluralistic society”. The alternative is one of empowerment for anyone (the American Dream) as against empowerment for everyone. As Eckert memorably puts it, Judy, a symbol of the theoretically ‘low-prestige’ Burnout group, uses stigmatised forms (stigmatised by the dominant group and those who wish to join it) not because she is not paying attention, but precisely because she is, and in doing so she “proudly presents herself in all her burnout splendour”.

### **3.6 The imposition of self through grammar.**

The previous sections have attempted to show how sociocultural factors constrain language use, but at the same time to demonstrate that these constraints are not absolute but represent a meaning potential open to speakers at each point in a discourse.

Similarly, it has considered the affects of the symbolic power of the dominant code on the lives of different social groups and claimed that while mastery of the symbolically prestigious code increases a speaker’s chances of ‘mainstream’ success, competence in social dialects is often an important factor in achieving success locally - a more realistic goal in the majority of cases. Taking the notion of indeterminacy in language use a step

further, the following section examines how speakers can exploit the meaning potential in real-time discourse to challenge the hegemony of the dominant group.

The notion of the socialised mind has been dealt with above, as part of the power behind language. There it was claimed that, *pace* Bruner, the mind always worked to cultural restraints and that utterances were by nature orientations to a state or event. However, the fact that language use is always a particular take on a situation can translate into *power in language* as the room for manoeuvre that is the meaning potential of a situation opens up the agentive capacity of a speaker to represent situations according to their own orientation (though still within the constraints of the lexicogrammatical system). Further, I have suggested above with relation to the *third space*, that it is possible to develop the limitations of a dynamic system, or better, its meaning potential, through the controlled introduction of innovation. In linguistic terms, innovation is introduced within individual texts as the meaning potential at each point allows for either a conventional response, the passive filling of the subject position created for the speaker by the unfolding text; or it allows for a more active subject positioning that develops or challenges the discourse and the assumptions it instantiates. Either response will leave its impress, strengthening or perturbing the developing context and, over time, confirming or challenging the ideology behind it. Both responses are needed, as a cultural dynamic relies on both stability and innovation.

The constant dynamic of reiteration and challenge means that a context is only as old as the last utterance:

The relation between a sentence and the previous text is as follows: each sentence contains one connection with other states of the text preceding it. That is to say it contains a single act of reference which encapsulates the whole of the previous text and simultaneously removes its interactive potential. The occurrence of the next sentence pensions off the previous one, replaces it, becomes the text. The whole text is present in each sentence. The meaning of each previous sentence is represented simply as part of the shared knowledge that one is bringing to bear in the interpretation of a text at any point.

Sinclair 1992:10

Sinclair's notion of what I shall call *dynamic context* ties in with Brazil's (1995) linear notion of grammar as facilitating a constant conceptual movement from an Initial State

(IS) to a Target State (TS) that, unresting, becomes the new Initial State. Clearly, this suggests a degree of agency and purpose on the part of the speaker, and Brazil (1995:37) refers to the movement from IS to TS as taking place through “purpose-oriented increments of speech” that fulfil present “communicative needs”:

The Initial State comprises all relevant aspects of the situation in which the increment is produced. Included among these are the speaker’s apprehension of the projected Target State: speakers set out with working assumptions both about what the present state of understanding is and about what state of understanding they are seeking to achieve. In assembling each increment, they add one element to another along the time continuum. After the addition of each element except the last, a new Intermediate State is precipitated, a state which results from the way all the elements so far produced have successively modified the Initial State. Each Intermediate State then determines what may come next in further pursuance of the route towards the prospective Target State.

In terms of the speaker’s purpose, the transition from IS to TS can be considered a movement from the *perlocutionary effect* of the context<sup>5</sup>, up to and including the latest utterance, to the *perlocutionary intent* of the speaker. The room for this manoeuvre, what Erickson (2001) calls *wiggle room*, is provided by the conjunction of meaning potential in the situation and Bourdieu’s notion of practice (1990a *passim*) as orientation to behavioural rules. A working definition of linguistic competence can thus be put forward as the ability to turn IS to the desired TS, turning perlocutionary effect to perlocutionary intent, a speaker’s ability to match the meaning potential of the language system to the meaning potential of the situation in order to achieve a specific behavioural objective. The speaker is thus constructing not only a linguistic subject position, but also a material one.

### **3.7 Subject positioning from concept to discourse.**

Following Halliday, an utterance is simultaneously an ideational, interpersonal and textual act, with the speaker’s orientation within these three metafunctions instantiated in language through an amalgam of corresponding lexicogrammatical features: the ideational construing the value of entities and events; the interpersonal constructing social relations of interaction; and the textual fitting the resultant message to the

linguistic context, the physical and social context, and the speaker's assumptions regarding their interlocutor's level of background knowledge. A speaker's orientation to the three metafunctions is thus instantiated in each clause they utter and, in a process that Bruner (1986:63-63) calls "the constant calibration in language", each new utterance changes the dynamic context, perturbing the register of the discourse as the speaker uses language to *latch onto and develop* the ongoing social activity. Within a single speech turn from a single speaker, this calibration is performed by Brazil's increments of speech aimed at defining a subject positioning. Yet, as suggested above, the instantiation of a clause in discourse puts it up for negotiation, so that as a speaker's representation reaches its Final State, the following (possibly the same) speaker assumes this utterance into a new context with a new meaning potential, which they take as their Initial State.

Following from these ideas on clause construction and the perturbation of register, Figure 3.8 modifies the working representation of the link between mind, culture and society to illustrate the realisation of complex concepts as multifunctional clauses simultaneously instantiating ideational representations, interpersonal exchanges and textual messages and to capture the dynamic nature of context in that each new utterance, in redefining the register, perturbs the wider context and so resets the parameters of the meaning potential for future behaviour. In Figure 3.8, therefore, a distinction is made between the potential field, tenor and mode of the meaning potential (marked  $F_p$ ,  $T_p$  and  $M_p$ ) and the actual field, tenor and mode of the developing discourse (marked  $F_a$ ,  $T_a$  and  $M_a$ ):

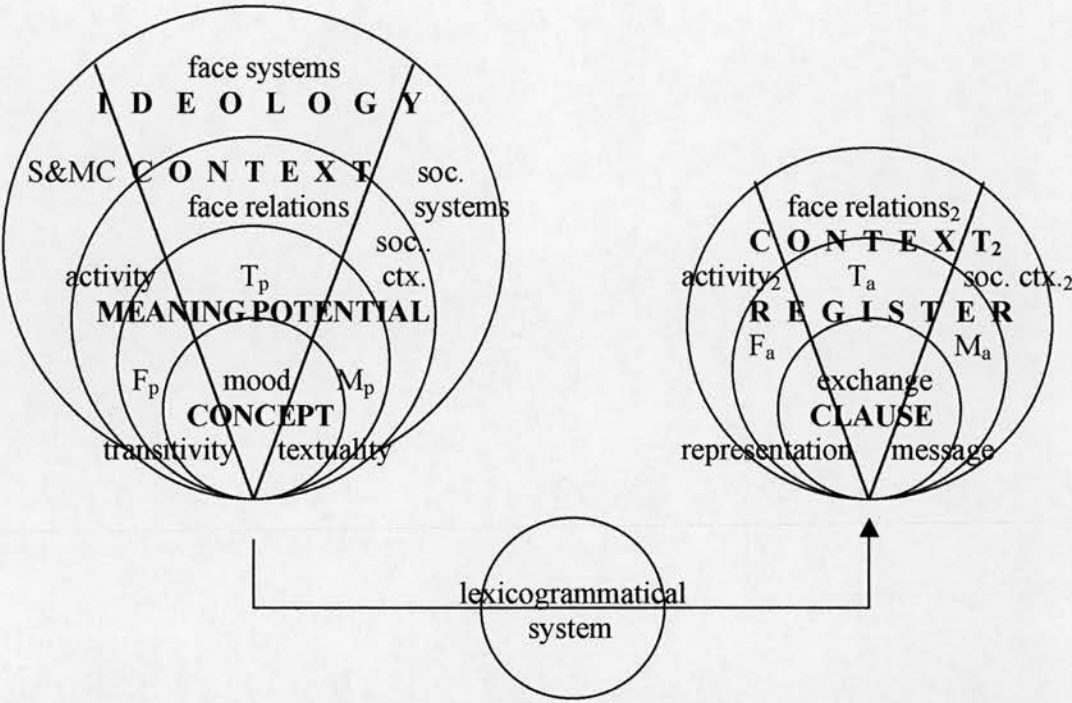


Figure 3.8. The instantiation of concepts as clauses and the perturbing effect on the context. S&MC = symbolic and material culture;  $F_p$ ,  $T_p$  and  $M_p$  = potential field, tenor and mode;  $F_a$ ,  $T_a$  and  $M_a$  = actual field tenor and mode.

Figure 3.8 illustrates how an emerging text is a shifting framework of reality, a unified whole held together not in stasis but in tension; its coherence lies not in the continuity of reference but in terms of the referents being negotiated, being woven throughout the text, each appearance slightly altered from the last:

[T]he unity of a discourse is based not so much on the permanence and uniqueness of an object as on the space in which various objects emerge and are continuously transformed.

Foucault 1972:32

At this point a distinction can be made between the *immediate grammar* needed to latch onto the flow of the discourse and shift it towards the speaker's present communicative need and the *immanent grammar* that is negotiated over time and which gives a text a post hoc appearance of unity. Individual Themes, each spotlighting one aspect of a



particular states of affairs, develop into thematic patterns; individual lexical choices develop into lexical chains and networks; and individual speech acts join together to form discourses. In this way individual ideational, interpersonal and textual choices become the field, tenor and mode of the extended text respectively. Sustained control over the immediate grammar, therefore, leads to control over larger stretches of discourse, defining the genre of the interaction and setting the parameters of the meaning potential available to interlocutors in the context of situation. There is thus some degree of unity of product and process, with the process taking shape not haphazardly, but always with an eye to a product. In this regard, a speaker may not only cohere with respect to the dynamic context, but also as a means of projecting future angles they wish to follow (Sinclair 1992 *passim*). This is true of spoken language, but even more so in written language, where “it is not enough to look only at the process...after all the product - the text - is what will be read” (Kaplan 2000:94). The coherent combination of immediate features leads to control over the emergent grammar and the genre it instantiates. At utterance level the coherence that an amalgam of semantic components achieves relates to the complex concept the dynamic context stimulates in the speaker as a response to it; over short stretches of text, cohesion will bring out the speaker’s orientation towards a particular topic; repeated over and between large stretches of discourse, cohesion naturalises the speaker’s ideology.

Following from this and from Van Dijk’s (1997:7) claim, above, that “if any feature of context and society at large impinges on text and talk (and vice versa), it is power,” linguistic competence can be defined as a speaker’s ability to use the power in language to construct for themselves a subject position that complements rather than kowtows to the context, the power of agentive subject positioning. It relies on two interdependent features: a speaker’s ability to manoeuvre the perlocutionary effect of context towards their own perlocutionary intent; and the ability to perturb the context, pushing it closer to the speaker’s own view of the world, determined in part at least by their field of socialisation. The following section examines how this empowering notion of competence can be related to socially complex and multilingual contexts such as that of the North Rupununi.

### **3.8 Language and empowerment.**

*If the ideational component is language as a mode of reflection, the interpersonal component is language as a mode of action; and reality consists as much in what we do as in what we think.*

*Halliday and Matthiessen 1999:523.*

Following Berger and Luckmann (1967) on the social construction of reality and Harré and Gillet (1994) on the discursive nature of the mind, it has been argued that social reality is to a large extent constructed, or at least given value, through language. Real-time discourse is therefore the development and negotiation of the parameters of social reality. Within the ideational metafunction, discourse construes the nature of events and things and the connections between them; within the interpersonal metafunction, discourse enacts and negotiates differentials of power and status, creating social alliances and divisions; within the textual metafunction discourse naturalises what is said in relation to the context of its utterance and so turns discourse into a tool for the reproduction and development of the cultural dynamic. In these terms lexicogrammar is a speaker's means of latching onto and developing complex concepts and instantiating a multimodal orientation to a given state of affairs; their interlocutors as partners in the construction of discourse; and the unfolding text itself. Lexicogrammar is thus at the service of discourse as a potential speaker's means of inserting themselves into reality as it is construed, constructed, maintained, negotiated and developed, through discourse. Gaining control over the ideational, interactional and textual bases of language therefore represents the linguistic parallel of empowerment and linguistic competence is the ability to exploit the tensions within the discourse to create your own subject positioning within the three metafunctions.

However, as described above, the potential within each context for verbal behaviour is not evenly shared amongst different groups and there is always a tension between the power behind language as a top-down constraint and the power in language as creative potential. The first step in utilising the empowering potential of language is thus CDA's process of consciousness-raising that reveals the tensions that the top-down system of control through its discourses of naturalisation and misrecognition continuously attempts to conceal but can never eliminate. This approach would appear to justify Hammersley's

accusation (1996, in Sarangi 2001:33) that CDA is often guilty of “reducing everything to a relation of domination between the oppressor and the oppressed”, and this is perhaps an impression I have given so far in this thesis. However, my view is that power behind language always exists and that it is necessary for social cohesion, but that the distortion of this power in favour of one sector of society is possible and that this often results in the naturalisation of the power imbalance through discourse by the dominant group and the misrecognition of the causes of the power imbalance by the dominated group. CDA is necessary then in analysing how language use in specific social conditions contributes to the formation and reproduction of structures that marginalise certain sectors within that society. As Foucault (Rabinow 1984:6) says:

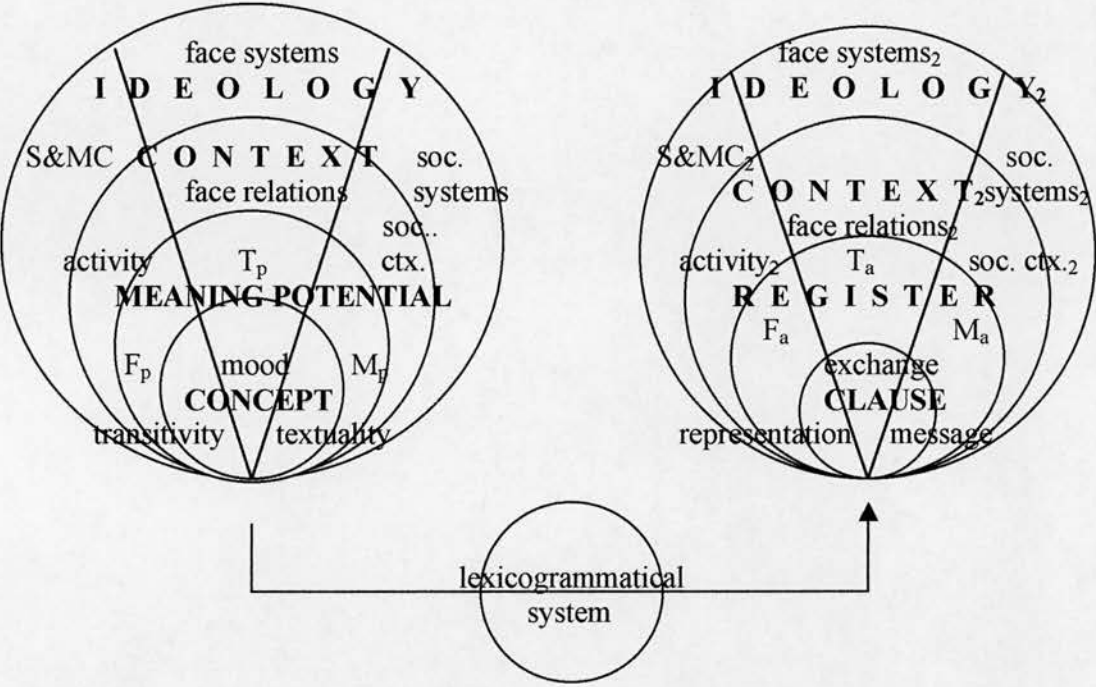
It seems to me...that the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticise the workings of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticise them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:136-137, quoted in part above) go further in seeing the driving force of CDA as the belief that the power structures in language, once unmasked, can then be turned back on themselves to emancipatory effect through:

research, including discourse analytical research on actual forms of dialogue in politics, and in other domains, with the objective of arriving at detailed accounts of the practices of dialogues in late modern societies which can discern the obstacles to practices of and potentials for non-repressive dialogue across difference. We see this as a matter of CDA taking the ‘public sphere’ as an object of research...Public spheres are practices of social and political action, conjunctures where people assemble resources for doing something about issues or problems, and where dialogue is a primary activity...

Linking discourse systems to the creation and maintenance of ideologies can thus go beyond strategies of unveiling the covert power behind language to consider how radical new discourse systems can serve to challenge the dominant ideology through the construal of new realities and the construction of new social relations. Figure 3.9 completes the model built up in this chapter of how a cultural dynamic, or ideology, exercises top-down hegemonic influence on discursive action, as determinism tempered by the tensions of practice. It shows that working counter to this contextual determinism

are challenges at all levels of discursive practice which gradually exploit the tensions within the hierarchy and which can be greatly amplified at times of social change, even to the extent of challenging the dominant ideology itself:



*Figure 3.9. The tensions of social practice and room for empowerment.*

Figure 3.9 thus illustrates how, for theories such as those of Bourdieu, Fairclough, and Martin, which incorporate the possibility of agentive change, it is the dynamic between the micro and the macro, between individual events and the system that is the site of a potentially emancipatory tension. Although power behind language means that “ideologically functioning discourses inhibit social change” the dynamics of language ensure that “social change happens anyway” (Lemke 1995:18). Martin (1992:581) similarly claims that while ideology is crucial in the shaping of discourse in its function as social action, the resources of the lexicogrammar can be negotiated within the tensions of social situations and so lead to bottom-up changes that ultimately alter ideology (a semiotic phenomenon itself):



[A]ll texts manifest, construe, renovate and symbolically realise ideology, just as they do language, register and genre. Because coding orientations are variably realised, ideology will never be a question of this or that, but one of more or less; and because these coding orientations distribute discursive power unequally, there will always be a semiotic tension in the community. The variable realisation of ideology provides the dynamic openness through which this tension can be resolved - it is a necessary condition for the system to evolve....

For Martin (1992:581-582) the possibility of creating new discourses is highest when contested circumstances highlight the imbalance between the meaning potentials of different classes:

For the most part this dissonance is scarcely heard; certain habitual configurations of meaning dominate others and the disharmony goes unnoticed. At times however the tension among voices explodes. This happens when an issue brings the uneven distribution of discursive power into focus and participants in a community try to act consciously on this distribution with a view to a re-allocation.

Chapter 2 attempted to show how the relations between the Makushi of Guyana and the national Government were in a state such that the system of control was tense and open to renegotiation, with the role of Makushi identity within a modernising nation-state representing an issue in Martin's terminology. When such issues arise there appear, within dynamic systems such as languages and cultures, "numerous bifurcation possibilities," or alternative routes for development, and "coherent action by many subsystems, linked through communication, can affect supersystem behaviour, especially near the critical branch points" (Lemke 1995:128). Further:

The kind of action most likely to open up new dynamical pathways for the system is a reorganisation of the coupling scheme, linking processes/practices not previously linked, or decoupling of those that formerly were. Such actions, semiotically, correspond to changes in what the community considers to be similar and different, allied or opposed. They include making semantic distinctions not previously made, combining thematic elements not previously combined, and thus making conceivable actions that link processes or subsystems not previously linked. It may be necessary to decouple and break some older linkages before recoupling processes in a new pattern, and it may be only in newer, younger, developing subsystems that the new dynamical patterns can first come into existence.



These words resonate with Habermas's notion of appropriation, perhaps through the transgressions of Bourdieu's wise men – Lemke's closing lines are "Make trouble. Play!" (Lemke 1995:184). But the strongest resonance is between Lemke's notion of recoupling and Bhabha's notion of the third space, a resonance amplified a few lines later with the use of one of Bhabha's favourite metaphors, 'interstices':

The panoply of meaning relations define a culture as a figure against the ground of meaning non-relations, gaps that are not even seen as gaps. New coupling schemes of social practices (and so of material processes) that fill these gaps, that make meaning in the interstices of culture, in the dark places whose emptiness of meaning defines the boundaries (and so the potential growing edges) of what is meaningful, are especially likely to contribute to shifts in the ecosocial organisation at some level.

Lemke 1995:128

One possible role for a socially concerned linguistic practice, therefore, would be to identify those areas and situations within social action where the power behind language is least stable and to develop the microresources of power in language to exploit social tensions through the continuous construction of subject positions counter to those "interpellated" by the prevailing ideology. These new articulations do not lead to stasis but to new tensions within a new dynamic equilibrium, and the aim of emancipatory education is to ensure that new dynamics are more equitable than the old, that the meaning potential in the Discourse of Development, in this specific case, is a broad *third space* open to the *difference* of each group's cultural dynamic.

The textual analyses that follow therefore attempt to illustrate the areas of tension between, on the one hand, the prevailing paternalistic ideology of the state and many professional development organisations and, on the other hand, the ideology of collaborative development, as each have been described in Chapter 2. These ideologies represent extreme points against which the examples of discourse practice analysed can be measured, and for this reason the first series of analyses (Chapter 5) examines the official construal of these ideologies through the Guyana Amerindian Act as revised in 1976 and the NRDDB Constitution of 2001.

Recognising that these two opposed ideological orientations will continue to operate simultaneously, my aim in Chapters 6 and 7 will be to reveal the resultant tensions within development discourse and to identify specific features of discourse practice as they relate either to the top-down reproduction of the existing paternalist ideology or to emerging collaborative discourse practices that seek to alter this. To this end I shall analyse examples of NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse first at the level of utterance (Chapter 7) and then at the level of text (Chapter 8) to see: (i) how the conflicting ideologies are manifest within the three metafunctions of discourse at each level, and (ii) the interrelation between these levels of context themselves and the wider context of culture. I then return to the level of ideology (Chapter 9), but rather than looking at official statements, as in Chapter 6, I will consider: (i) how differing construals of the development process and the roles of the participants within it are manifest in the discourse of the participants themselves, and (ii) the correspondence between these construals, the official ideologies of the Amerindian Act and the NRDDDB Constitution, and the discourse practices revealed at the levels of utterance and text.

Clearly it would be incorrect to label any differences identified in discursive practices as relating categorically to one ideology or the other; nonetheless, the differences identified can be said to represent borderlines or interstices within the Discourse of Development, points of tension which can potentially be resolved in favour of a collaborative discourse practice aiming to create a third space within development practice. The concluding chapter of the thesis therefore looks at the implications of the textual analyses for NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse, discourses of development in general, and pedagogic practice aimed at identifying and exploiting tensions in discursive practice as part of a process of transformative empowerment. Firstly, however, it is necessary to discuss existing methodologies for the linguistic analysis of power and the problematic areas within this field of research.

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<sup>1</sup> Halliday uses the term Goal but, as this causes confusion with other approaches, I shall use the term Patient.

<sup>2</sup> This rather opaque phrase means that as a proposition is a predication about a Subject, and as the speaker has the power to select for subjecthood, it is the non-linguistic relationship between the predicate and the Subject, in the appropriate time or mental space, that determines the truth of the speech act from the speaker's point of view. This is clearest with event modality: for example, *His wife should leave him*. is not the same statement as *He should be left by his wife*. Less obviously, in a non-modalised clauses such as *Tom ate some nougat*. the speaker's investment in the truth of the statement seems to rely more on what

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Tom did or did not do than on what happened to the nougat; conversely, the truth or otherwise of *The nougat was eaten by Tom*. seems to depend more on what happened to the nougat.

<sup>3</sup> The analysis of Given and New here assumes stress on "dog", indicating that this is the new information; other stress patterns indicating different information structures are of course possible.

<sup>4</sup> This model is my development of a mode of representation commonly employed in SFL (e.g. Martin 1992:496 and Eggins and Slade 1997:51).

<sup>5</sup> Perlocutionary effect is seen not as the result of an utterance alone but of the whole context including that utterance.

## **Chapter Four. The Analysis of Language and Power: Methods and Limitations.**

### **4.1 Introduction.**

In the last chapter I attempted to situate different levels of text within a wider theoretical model of language and power and in Chapters 5 to 8 I shall analyse genuine texts at these different levels and relate them to the model in terms of the interaction of language and power within the Discourse of Development in the Rupununi. Before that, however, it is necessary to discuss some general issues concerning the analytical methods appropriate to relating texts to this model.

As the analyses in the following chapters deal with different levels of analysis they ask very different questions of the texts considered and so employ very different methodologies. It is therefore necessary to consider how these distinct analytical methods can be combined in a coherent fashion that relates them to each other and to the model of language and power built up. Two major points of contention that will have to be discussed are the extent to which analysts can draw on their knowledge of the social context in analysing specific texts and the limitations of sociological conclusions drawn from the largescale analyses and quantification of linguistic features.

In Chapter 5, for example, I use methods from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to produce a largescale comparison of Government and Amerindian construals of participation within the development process. To this end, the Guyanese Amerindian Act of 1976 and the NRDDB Constitution of 2001 are examined and contrasted with respect to the participant roles allocated through the lexicogrammar to the various groups within this process. The analysis deals with each text as a finished product, interrelating and quantifying various lexicogrammatical features in order to 'map out' the role relations between the different groups as set out in the two texts and so reveal something of the ideological formations behind them. Various problems arise with mappings of this scale, however, and particularly salient criticisms of this method are discussed in this chapter.

These include accusations that the linguistic features to be analysed are not chosen objectively or consistently; that the meaning of these features in the microlinguistic context of each individual text is not sufficiently analysed in qualitative terms or, conversely, that these features are too contextualised to be meaningfully quantified; and that generic constraints upon the production of different features are not sufficiently taken into consideration.

The texts in Chapter 6, in contrast, are considered from the viewpoint of discourse in action and the methodology used draws on the descriptive methods of SFL and Conversation Analysis (CA) to analyse texts as unfolding processes in which the dynamics of control are constantly being renegotiated. However, in order to place these texts within the model of language and power the analyses in Chapter 6 also consider the social relations between the different groups involved in the Discourse of Development in Guyana and this raises the much-debated question of how much can be read into texts that is not specifically stated within them and how an objective analytical stance can be maintained. These questions are the basis of a longstanding intellectual dispute between conversation analysts and critical discourse analysts (n.b. the exchanges between Schegloff [1999a&1999b] and Billig [1999a&1999b] in the journal *Discourse and Society*). The interrelation and contrasts between these two approaches forms a major part of the discussion on the methods and limitations of textual analysis below.

The analysis in Chapter 7 returns to longer stretches of text, but rather than asking specific social questions of these texts it looks at their construction as complex linguistic products from the point of view of the three metafunctions and the relation between these and the social context. The analysis of these texts therefore draws on register and genre theory and my approach is discussed in Chapter 7.

Chapter 8 returns to the CDA methods of Chapter 6 but, whereas that chapter examined overt political stances with respect to role relations in development practice, this chapter examines how different participants implicitly appropriate to themselves different power roles within the Discourse of Development through their use of modal forms. The discussion of the analytical methods of CDA in the present chapter is thus relevant to Chapter 8, while issues specific to the analysis in that chapter are discussed there.



The following section discusses these methods and their limitations of textual analysis with particular reference to the areas of disagreement mentioned above.

## **4.2 Language and power: Analytical methods and their limitations.**

### **4.2.1 Description and interpretation of textual features within the immediate social context.**

It was argued above that a speaker's utterance verbalises a complex concept as a response to the perlocutionary effect of the dynamic context. This complex concept comprises ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning, simultaneously instantiated in the clause through *meaning components*<sup>1</sup>, specific features of the lexicogrammatical system that are *realised* as surface form. This notion of direct concept-to-form mapping (phrased in various terms) is common to SFL, Dik's Functional Grammar, Brazil's linear grammar and Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), the last of which phrases it thus (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:21):

There are no abstract syntactic representations mediating between the overt syntactic representation of a sentence and its semantic representation, be they derivationally related to the overt form...or non-derivationally related...

For Dik (1989:289), representations of

clause structures should be such that they contain all the elements which are needed to specify the semantic content of the clause on the one hand, and the form in which it can be expressed on the other.

In the terms of this theory, *realisation rules* should be a direct mapping from semantic content to lexicogrammar within all three metafunctions simultaneously. However, communicating meaning, in terms of a speaker's perlocutionary intent, relies on more than the semantic content of their utterances alone: it is necessary to relate this content to contextual factors ranging from cultural ideology through institutional norms to the interpersonal history of the interlocutors and the facets of their complex psyches they

consider it appropriate to display at each moment. And if such factors influence the production of utterances, it follows that an awareness and understanding of these same factors is necessary for a full understanding of the utterance produced - for addressees and analysts alike. This idea places limitations on purely structural descriptions of clausal lexicogrammar to the extent that while such descriptions might stretch to labelling the speech acts performed in a discourse in terms of the immediate linguistic functions they perform, they cannot explain the *social meaning* of these linguistic functions in context: what it means for this person to perform such an act to this other person at such a time in such an institution and culture. Thus, while it might be possible to analyse

#### 4.1 *Give me a kiss, baby.*

in SFL terms as a bald request for goods and services purely from the surface features, to understand what the performance of such a speech act here, thus and now means to the participants in the discourse, it is necessary to *thicken up* the description of the context and the relationship of language to ideology so as to determine the factors that give the utterance its social meaning and to understand the discourse as a social act. This might seem a tall order, but the very purpose of utterances is to be understood as social acts and their social meaning should therefore be recoverable with sufficient contextualisation. The difficulty for the linguistic anthropologist, however, is to externalise the processes by which speakers achieve this everyday feat and to distinguish the contextual factors that are relevant to their own culture from those which are relevant to the culture being discussed. The methodology adopted here is to combine linguistic analysis of form with social and anthropological analysis of context to provide a three-stage description-interpretation-explanation approach (after Fairclough [1989]<sup>2</sup>). This involves: (i) describing the lexicogrammatical features of a text and the speech acts they realise; (ii) interpreting the performance of such acts in terms of the social relations between the speakers and the institutional context; (iii) explaining the relationship between utterances and context in wider sociological terms.

These points can be illustrated with reference to example 4.2. S is Simone, an Iwokrama social scientist, and the example is taken from the Iwokrama-sponsored Management Planning Workshop in Toka (Tape 8a, 19/4/00) and occurs at a point where William, who

is leading the discussion, has started to lose control over the proceedings, as illustrated here by the long pause following his request for contributions to the discussion. As a first step in analysing this utterance we can describe it in purely formal terms within the metafunctional framework of SFL.

4.2 S: *William's not feeling so well.*

A metafunctional analysis labels the components of the clause as follows (bold type indicates tonic prominence and the downward arrow indicates a falling tone):

William	's not	↓ <b>feeling</b>	so well
Theme	Rheme		
Given		New	
Subject	Finite	Predicate	Complement
Mood		Residue	
Carrier	Process: Relational		Attribute

Simone's utterance as a message represents an Observation on the activity in hand (see Appendix 2), concerned with the concurrent condition of a third person (n.b. it is about William, but it is not directed to him, and this will prove important in the analysis of this text in Chapter 5). "William" is elected as Theme, the point of departure for the clause, used by the speaker to latch onto the flow of events, verbal and non-verbal (i.e. William's failing control over the proceedings), and to engage the hearer's active understanding. Ideationally, the process FEEL is relational, attributing an Attribute to a Carrier: in this case, "William" is the Carrier of the Attribute "not so well". This proposition is brought into the social life of the discourse, made negotiable, through the Mood component, comprising the Subject, "William", and the negative Finite "'s not". The unmodalised Finite and the ordering Subject^Finite with falling intonation indicate that Simone is providing information to the rest of the group at this point. As Subject, "William" is selected as the participant around whom the Simone wishes to centre the truth of her proposition - a seemingly unremarkable state of affairs given the nature of their statement. "William" is also Given, while the New information, marked by the tonic prominence given to "feeling", is that the predicate /BE FEELING WELL/ is not true in William's case. Given his position as workshop facilitator at this point, this is indeed newsworthy information and would appear to represent an explanation/apology on

William's behalf. An SFL analysis can thus take us beyond a simple analysis of the truth value of the statement as a *representation* of a state of affairs to describe the speaker's *orientation* towards both the status of their information and their interlocutors, fashioning the information as a *message* within the wider context and weaving it into the discourse as one *exchange* within an ongoing dialogue, and it is through the interplay of these three layers of meaning that an utterance becomes a piece of behaviour, a *speech act*.

However, an SFL analysis of this kind does not, on its own, explain the social meaning of the utterance as a speech act produced in context. Example 4.3 begins this process by providing the immediate textual context of 4.2 and combining the SFL approach with the methods of Conversation Analysis to examine the relationships between utterances in sequence and the joint construction of dialogue:

4.3 *W: You want to say something?*

(7s)

*S: All right, if everybody sit together, William's not feeling so well.*

Example 4.3 shows that Simone's turn was produced as some sort of response to William's utterance and the seven second delay that followed it. William's utterance here is, in the terms of SFL, an offer, frequently realised in standard British English through a Process projecting a desire and a second person Subject with the interrogative mood form Finite^Subject. In Guyanese English, however, the unmarked interrogative form is Subject^Finite with rising intonation (as was the case here). For CA, speech acts such as 'offers' do not occur in isolation but generally form part of what are referred to as *adjacency pairs* (e.g. Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998:39-47), and in these terms William's offer anticipates one of two probable responses from the floor: what in CA is referred to as the *preferred option* would comprise an acknowledgment followed by an uptake of the offer, while the *dispreferred option* would be to decline the offer. The silence that greets his offer thus represents a breakdown in the exchange sequence and Simone's intervention at this point would seem to be an attempt to repair this breakdown and reinitiate the discourse. Simone's repair comprises ALL RIGHT, a marker of control<sup>3</sup>, followed by a directive, phrased indirectly as a hypothetical and addressed not to William but the wider audience. This is followed by a justification from Simone for making the directive: the fact that William is not feeling so well. The nature of Simone's repair is



thus quite surprising in that it involves her bypassing William and addressing the floor directly. Returning to the lexicogrammar, the marked nature of this contribution is still more striking in that Simone's justification for taking control has William as Subject, thus presenting the proposition from his point of view, while the Process FEEL refers to a state of affairs which only William can verify. Such an utterance would not be surprising in William's absence as a relaying of information originating from William himself, but given that William is in fact standing alongside Simone at the front of the room, her utterance has to be seen as something of an intrusion into William's territory. However, such an analysis takes us into the realms of interpretation, and this is a site of some contestation between conversation analysts and critical discourse analysts.

Conversation Analysis attempts to provide descriptions of turn-taking in conversation in terms of the potential resources of the language system for constructing discourse and the deployment within particular texts of specific resources (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998:Chapter 2). Textual features are considered in minute detail and largely in isolation from social factors, particularly face relations between interlocutors, so that the "the turn-taking character of a particular episode" can be described in objective and systematic terms as a function of how resources from "the organisation of turn-taking are brought to bear on the allocation of turns and their construction, and the practices for deploying those resources" (Schegloff 1999a:562). This does not imply that the interpersonal relationship between two interlocutors does not affect the construction of discourse, however. Schegloff, for example, accepts that asymmetries of power will have an effect on these patterns, but claims that these asymmetries are manifest in the turn-taking character of the episode as a direct result of the different turn-taking resources deployed in practice by the different participants. In these terms the skewed nature of the interaction in a particular discourse can be described *and* explained in purely structural terms, without recourse to unspoken aspects of the social context, while "those who believe there are categorical sources of oppression at work in this domain...have a set of places to go to work on" (Schegloff 1999a:563). In this way conversation analysts attempt to remove the possibility of the analyst's own ideology entering the description of the linguistic behaviour in progress while still permitting explanations of asymmetries in social terms at a later remove. In Hutchby and Wooffitt's (1998:4-5) terms, 'structure' should not be viewed as an objective, external source of constraint on individual



participants but as a feature of a situated social interaction that participants actively orient to as relevant for the ways they design their actions. Thus, while analysts may want to assert that some feature of social structure, such as class or power, is relevant for the way in which particular interactions are managed, the more difficult task proposed by CA is to show that such features are relevant for the participants themselves as displayed, for example, in the design of their talk.

Eggin and Slade (1997:32) pinpoint a fault with the CA approach, arguing that the discipline, in its concern to study the joint construction of language as 'behaviour', views conversation as "a form of social interaction that is incidentally verbal" and misses the point that language is more than just "good data" and should be viewed in its own right as "linguistic interaction that is fundamentally social". In this view, the joint construction of discourse can never be viewed as a discrete or autonomous practice and non-verbal social forces are always acting on the participants themselves to give their utterances meaning *beyond their lexicogrammatical structure*, meaning that is evident to the interlocutors in real time. While conversation analysts refute "a priori speculations about the orientations and motives of the speakers" (Heritage 1984 in Williams 1992:103) and insist that all judgments of speaker relations must be drawn from the text under consideration, I think the key phrase is "a priori speculations": provided the sociological background is sound, I agree with Bourdieu (1990b:126-127) that "the truth of any interaction is never entirely to be found within the interaction as it avails itself for observation"; rather, account must be taken of the position of the agents (here, interlocutors) with respect to their cultural, social and symbolic capital and the interpersonal relationship these (and other) factors entail.

Thus, while the objective analysis of discourse proposed by the conversation analysts may be an admirable goal in itself, it leads to two particular shortcomings. Firstly, in assuming that all asymmetries in dialogue are the "products of local determination" Schegloff (1999a:563) ignores the notion of code and the idea that participants come to discourse with different resources and that the particular institutional context will favour some parties over others in ways that are not determined locally within the discourse. Secondly, CA's insistence on analysing exchanges without recourse to social considerations not made explicit in the discourse itself disallows the possibility that

identical sequences might mean different things depending on the social power relations existing between the interlocutors. Returning to Example 4.2, this particular exchange becomes more meaningful once descriptions of its lexicogrammatical form and its sequencing are interpreted within a complex social context.

William is an Amerindian fronting an NGO-sponsored workshop for the first time (and bear in mind that workshops are not Amerindian institutions); Simone, however, is not only a representative of that NGO, with all the kudos and power that entails, but is also the director of the workshop and its designer. She is also non-Amerindian, from what would be considered a 'high caste' in Guyana, and her accent identifies her not with the international members of the NGO, but with Guyanese Coastlanders, seen by Amerindians as generally dominant and overbearing. Thus, while Simone's intention at this point in the discourse was to help William out by attempting to repair the breakdown in discourse, the sociocultural context of the workshop, combined with Simone's own perceptions of appropriateness, conspire to transform her interpersonal relationship with William at this point, in this situation, within the institution within the culture, into one of trainee and evaluator.

In Example 4.3, the means by which Simone is able to take over the discourse (and her control will become almost total, see the analysis of Text 6.1, below) has to be understood in terms of the relationship between the linguistic resources she deploys and the social power differentials between the two main speakers as they operate together. Given Simone's role as evaluator ultimately in charge of the workshop, with William installed as facilitator only temporarily, the combination in 4.3 of William as Subject of the private Process FEEL is not just Simone making an excuse on William's behalf, as might have been the case had William not been standing there, but more or less amounts to Simone assuming the dominant role, temporarily and voluntarily set aside, to speak *for* William. In these terms, Simone's actions in 4.3 will be interpreted in real time by the other participants as a function of the symbolic capital she enjoys and as a resumption of her role as organiser of the workshop - and this interpretation will affect the turn-taking organisation of the discourse. The deployment of the same resources by William would not have produced the same effect, as his symbolic power within this institutional context and his temporary role as 'trainee' would not have carried the strategy in the same way.

It seems fairly clear, then, that this particular exchange cannot be adequately interpreted without recourse to social aspects of the context not explicitly referred to in the text.

It is for the reasons given here that CDA inserts between the purely lexicogrammatical description of a text and its explanation in wider social terms an interpretation of the immediate interaction that takes on board the contextual features of the institution, the activity in hand, and the face relations between the different participants. This is an approach shared by other linguistic disciplines. Anthropological Linguistics, for example, attempts to interpret interactions within the wider context, but goes beyond the power relations that are the focus of CDA work to consider how cultural considerations in general affect the production and interpretation of texts. Interactional Sociolinguistics examines the existence of *contextualisation cues* (Gumperz and Gumperz 1982:18-19), often subconscious, culturally specific clues within the discourse that affect the *contextualisation conventions* of the discourse in terms of the particular social and linguistic framework in which particular speech acts are to be interpreted and developed. What these disciplines have in common is a belief that the social meaning of a specific speech act at such a time and such a place can only be evaluated, for either speaker or analyst, in conjunction with pragmatic knowledge of the contexts of situation, institution and culture.

#### 4.2.2 Explanation of textual features in the wider social context.

It is the specific aim of CDA not just to look at how power relations affect the interpretation of situated discourse in its own terms, but to relate the asymmetries of power within discourse to wider issues of power in society. This entails combining a detailed analysis of the individual linguistic data in terms of the localised power relations they demonstrate with a sociological analysis of representative sets of such data. There are, however, many critics of this approach. Aside from the conversation analysts, Widdowson (2000) is particularly scathing in his accusations that critical discourse analysts “fix on specific textual features and assign them significance” while ignoring the relation of actual texts to the “standard formats” of their type (Widdowson 2000:165). He illustrates his criticisms with regard to CDA’s common practice of explaining

nominalisations and agentless passives as means of covering up responsibility rather than as standard features of the genre of newspaper reportage. Further, he claims that “there is no consideration of how... features act upon each other in the text or upon contextual conditions outside”(Widdowson 2000:167). Widdowson’s comments resonate with those of Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998:164), from the CA tradition, who accuse CDA of

policies of simply counting the number of questions, or coding the type of question asked [... while...] not being sensitive enough to the more basic sense of context...the local... sequential context of talk in which utterances are produced.

Conversely, microanalysis within CDA has been criticised for extrapolating sociological conclusions from small quantities of minutely scrutinised data or for providing “no more than a commentary on the text” (Eggins 1994:313): that is, for a failure to provide an analysis in terms that can be quantified and contrasted with other texts and so be given a value within the social system.

These criticisms all contain some aspect of the idea that the CDA approach allows too much room for the subjective ideological baggage of analysts, as made explicit in Hammersley’s (1996, in Sarangi 2001:33) accusation that CDA reduces everything “to a relation of domination between the oppressor and the oppressed”. Some of these criticisms are justified while others are based on a misunderstanding of the CDA project or a restricted view of contextualised language (perhaps for their own ideological reasons).

Widdowson’s criticism can be broken down into several key points, each of which I respond to:

- (i) that “there is no consideration of how... features act upon each other”;
- (ii) that “there is no consideration of how... features act upon ...contextual conditions outside”;
- (iii) that CDA ignores the relation of actual texts to the “standard formats” of their type;
- (iv) that critical discourse analysts “fix on specific textual features and assign them significance”, which relates to Hutchby and Wooffitt’s accusations of number-crunching.



The first point seems to be the polar opposite of Eggins's complaint that CDA often reverts to a mere commentary of the text, and both are valid criticisms depending on the goal of the textual analysis. The microanalysis of the changing dynamics of a text in real time is inappropriate if a broad picture of different actors' relatively stable construal of social relations is sought, while an analysis looking at who controls the form and content of discourse in practice needs to be very aware of the dynamics within every point of discourse as it unfolds and, as Widdowson rightly points out, of how the text affects the world outside the particular discourse. The notions developed above of tension, agency and perturbation from morpheme to ideology within a dynamic system were developed specifically to deal with these concepts.

The relation of texts to their standard generic types is a more difficult problem. On the one hand, as different genres within the same Discourse are coconstitutive with the ideology behind this Discourse, it is perfectly valid to consider and contrast them. On the other hand, Widdowson is right inasmuch as an individual analysis has greater *value* if placed within a system of analyses of which it is an instance. In this case, data to be analysed should be compared with baseline data both in everyday speech and in the genre under study. As the extremely critical analyst Lemke (1995:57) says:

Ultimately we may concern ourselves with individual speakers, addressees and sequences of social events, but we can usefully do so only in relation to the typical patterns of such things in our communities.

With regard to the need to analyse individual usage in relation to "standard formats" I am, then, totally in agreement with Widdowson's second point, and in this regard a consistent difference in the use of agentless passives between two newspapers would indeed be meaningful. It is Widdowson who is jumping the gun of analysis a little when he claims that agentless nominalisation "is a matter of standard format, a convention for newspaper headlines, motivated by considerations of space and so on" (Widdowson 2000:165) without specifying the data from which he draws his conclusions in terms of which newspapers, which headlines, for which agents, and including what "and so on". Further, even if we were to accept that "referential avoidance is not the same as referential evasion" (Widdowson 2000:166), we are faced with the question of whether the thoughtless and passive reproduction of norms is any more conducive to



communicative rationality than the active and deliberate concealment of information. Similarly, Widdowson's criticism seems to flirt with a realist view of "standard formats" as naturally occurring events rather than as constructs with social histories. In the latter case, the norms themselves are open to critical analysis as features of the power behind language and as determining factors on the social direction of a particular culture. These points are once again addressed within mainstream critical linguistics; as two of the fathers of the tradition, Hodge and Fowler (1979:23-24). point out:

Pilots [in Vietnam] who talked of 'protective reactions' were not necessarily conspiring consciously to falsify reality through a misuse of language. The phrase was routine. It is difficult to pinpoint sources of such terms or to identify linguistic conspirators. American pilots who wrote "protective reaction" in reports in the course of their daily duties were not necessarily deceiving anyone who did not already know. The deception or displacement is thoroughly routinised and apparently under-motivated, and responsibility for the process is hard to locate.

It is difficult, then, to tell if these pilots were deliberately using a 'novel' construal to alter the conceptualisation of bombing in the minds of the public or whether they were the victims of power behind language, passively accepting and reproducing the twin concepts, formulated by an anonymous elite, /BOMBING PROTECTS/ and /WE ONLY BOMB WHEN ATTACKED/, that are inherent in the gruesome nominalisation.

Similarly, if one newspaper reports that

#### *4.4 Police Fire on Protesters.*

while another baldly states of the same event:

#### *4.5 Mob Dispersed.*

is the editor of the latter guilty of hiding the role of the police and of stigmatising the "protesters"? Or is it simply that that is how they see the event, as a gestalt, as the complex concept instantiated thus through this text? A similar question can be asked of those who describe science in consistently 'agentless' terms, or who reproduce any stock

genre. Clearly, either explanation is of interest: the reproduction of ingenuousness is as critical as indoctrination; but there *is* a warning here that accusations of deliberate distortion might be better restated as identifying culturally-motivated presuppositions.

I do have a great deal of sympathy with Widdowson's final charge of selective feature fixation and Hutchby and Wooffitt's claims of gross number-crunching. In this respect CDA is often guilty of picking out the juicy stretches of a text and within these highlighting only specific grammatical titbits. This problem is often amplified by an insufficiently contextualised analysis of the features counted, as Widdowson suggests when he talks about the importance of looking at how features act upon each other in context. Overcoming these criticisms thus involves selecting a level of analysis that allows for non-selective quantification over complete texts while refining the categorisation of linguistic features quantified to take account of their contextualised meaning. Dealing with the second point first, in CDA terms this means relating differentials of power in discourse as accurately as possible to linguistic features. A frequently analysed feature in this respect is modality, as this is a rich resource for speakers in construing the nature of reality and in constructing participant roles through discourse. If features such as modality are to be used in macroanalysis, however, the categorisations employed must be sufficiently delicate as to be meaningful, and in this respect early CDA and its precursor Critical Language Studies (CLS) were often guilty as charged of simply counting the modals within texts at the bludgeon level of delicacy. Table 4.1, reproduced from Eggins and Slade (1997:110), is a typical example of this practice which, as well as differentiating speech acts only crudely and formulaically<sup>4</sup>, fails to consider either the modal source or object of the speech act or the propositional content of the modalised event clause. The data refers to modal use by different speakers in casual conversation:

	[Speaker 1]	[Speaker 2]	[Speaker 3]
<b>Modalisation probability</b>			
high			
median	1 (subjective; explicit)		
low	1 (subjective; implicit)		1 (objective; implicit)
<b>Modulation</b>			
<b>(i) obligation</b>			
high:directive	3	1	2
median:advice		1	
low:permission	1	1	
<b>(ii) capability</b>	5		2
total no. of modalities	11	3	5

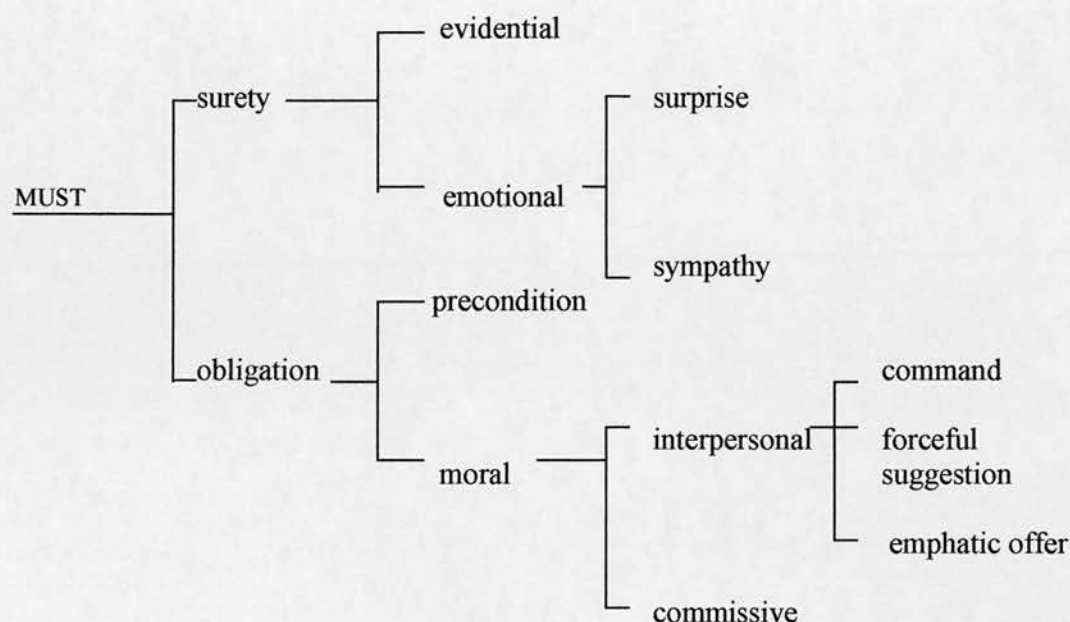
*Table 4.1: Indelicate Modality Analysis. Source: Eggins and Slade (1997:110)*

Eggins and Slade draw conclusions regarding the power relations between participants in the conversation from such low-level linguistic analysis, according to which there is no meaningful difference between the emphatic offer in Example 4.6 and the command in 4.7, both of which would be labelled modulation:obligation:high:directive in Eggins and Slade's scheme:

4.6 *You must stay and have a bite to eat!*

4.7 *The whole population must obey my every word.*

In order to produce more meaningful analysis of the social value of speakers' linguistic behaviour a more delicate representation of the *lexemic meaning potential* of the modals within speech acts is needed, along the lines of that suggested for MUST in Figure 4.1 (*cf.* Bartlett 2000:4):



*Figure 4.1. Lexemic Meaning Potential of MUST.*

Examples of the different uses are:

Evidential: *He must be at home, the light's on.*

Surprise: *You must be joking!*

Sympathy: *You must be worried sick.*

Precondition: *Prospective candidates must have completed their theses by June 30<sup>th</sup>.*

Command: *You must do as I say.*

Forceful suggestion: *You really must see a doctor.*

Emphatic offer: *You must have another cup of tea!*

Commissive: *I really must paint that cowshed.*

Such a mapping of the lexemic potential of MUST not only refines the delicacy of interpretation, it also highlights the very different pragmatic nature of the speech acts effected by small changes in semantics, as in Examples 4.6 and 4.7, which are both analysed as obligation:moral:interpersonal, but which differ in the final analysis as emphatic offer and command.

Another refinement to the CDA approach is that the modal source of the speech act and the content of the event clause, including the modal object, should be taken into consideration so as to capture who is asking what of whom in what way and for what reason. At the very least the modal object, as the person responsible for carrying out the event or not, needs to be listed<sup>5</sup>. Otherwise the commissive in Example 4.8 is in danger of counting alongside commands in analyses of language and power.

4.8 *I must, I must, improve my bust.*

Once the linguistic units of analysis have been chosen and refined, it is necessary to quantify these items in sufficient numbers and in terms appropriate to meaningful sociological analysis. To achieve this it is possible to turn to Whorf's (1956:158) claim that linguistic representations of concepts

do not depend so much upon ANY ONE SYSTEM within the grammar as upon the ways of analysing and reporting experience which may have become fixed in the language as integrated 'fashions of speaking' and which cut across the typical grammatical classifications, so that such a 'fashion' may include lexical, morphological, syntactical, and otherwise systematically diverse means coordinated in a certain frame of consistency.

However, where Whorf saw these fashions of speaking as part of the power behind language as a social semiotic, institutionalised ways of seeing the world through language, we can reinterpret his primarily anthropological hypothesis sociologically in terms of the fashions of speaking that social actors display in their personal discourse, the power in language. For if language is a map of speakers' phenomenal worlds, of their experience of process, then mapping a speaker's representations of the world through language should allow us insight into "what goes on in the realms of their own consciousness" (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999:ix). Essential to this position on the relation between language and reality/ideology is the notion that utterances arise from and verbally instantiate complex concepts in the mind of the speaker, concepts that the hearer then tries to reconceptualise from the evidence of surface structure (the view of grammar presented in Chapter 3). For Hasan (1986:148-149):



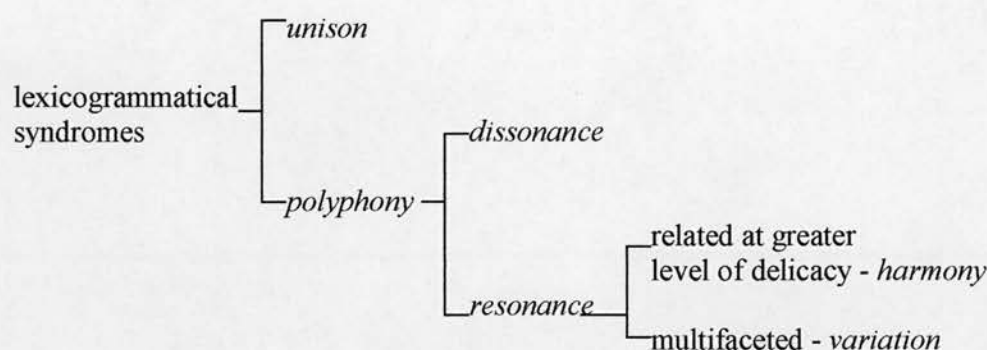
The selection of a specific constellation of [linguistic] patterns cannot... be seen as dictated by the system of language [which, being paradigmatic, allows for many combinations]. If a specific set of options is selected it is there because it is capable of constructing the meanings the occasion is perceived to require. This implies that the patterns in a constellation – the patterns possessing a configurative rapport – display a semantic consistency... If a specific configurative rapport – a constellation of linguistic patterns – is perceived as criterial in the context of some ideology, it is not because the system of language has forced the patterns together; its contribution lies in providing the resources.

The configurative rapport comes into existence and acquires a life because of our fashions of speaking as our fashions of speaking are bearers of our ideology.

If we start from an idea of language as a means of negotiating ideology through complex concepts in speech, we can see that the notions such as Hasan's "constellations of patterns", Halliday and Matthiessen's (1999:239) "syndromes of features" and Whorf's "ways of speaking" follow naturally, as speakers' underlying conceptualisations of the world will become manifest throughout their speech and the tokens that realise it. The "workings of each other's mind are available to us in what we jointly create conversationally" (Harré and Gillet 1994:27) and our particular ideology or consistency of conceptualisation will continually break out onto the surface features of the language. As Bernstein (1990:17) puts it:

[T]he text is the form of the social relation made visible, palpable, material. It should be possible to recover the original specialised interactional practice from the analysis of the texts in context.

These ideas would suggest that approaching the same research question through different areas of the grammar should provide results that *resonate* with each other in their social meaning and so reveal the underlying ideologies of texts. However, while each linguistic item is a star in the constellation of usage, individual instances, unlike DNA, cannot be used to recreate the system as a whole. On the contrary, the description of the system of use, of ways of speaking, is built up slowly from the analysis of large numbers of instances, and these instances will at times appear contradictory. To take a musical analogy, rather than sounding in unison, various features may create complex harmonies, variations on a theme, or downright dissonance, as in Figure 4.2.



*Figure 4.2. Relations between lexicogrammatical syndromes*

In the case of harmonies and variation, it is then up to the analyst to identify the deeper common meaning that unites these strands; in the case of irreconcilable dissonance, we have to assume that this is an occupational hazard of dealing with people with pulses and not machines.

Linguistic statistics should capture a truth about participants' ways of speaking in the same way as a nominalisation might reformulate a clause, as a sort of concretisation of the essential elements of a far more complex process. Alternatively, they can be viewed in the same way as sports statistics: they should resonate with a spectator's impressions of a game, losing the detail that makes an event more than mere numbers, but offering as compensation insights not available as the process unfolds, including one or two genuine surprises that lead the reader to review the game itself. The conclusion, then, should be that critical approaches to language do have plenty to offer in relating lexicogrammatical form to ideologies but that, like any young discipline, their act needs getting together.

One method for a thorough and long-term analysis of the relations between social groups and language that would both employ and challenge critical language theory can be adapted from Bourdieu's "Programme for a Sociology of Sport" (Bourdieu 1990b:156-167). For Bourdieu, dealing with the cultural links between rugby and beer-drinkers and tennis and wine-drinkers, it is necessary to look at the social history of drinking wine and of drinking beer both in their own terms and as values within a system. Then a

synchronic picture of their values relative to each other can be drawn. The same diachronic and synchronic analyses are then repeated for tennis and rugby. These analyses are then situated within a diachronic study of the broader relationship between sports and alcohol, and only then can conclusions be drawn regarding the synchronic relationship between rugby and beer and tennis and wine. In a research situation such as my own, a sociological analysis of the content of data, a linguistic analysis of the constellations of features and patterns that permeate each group's language system, and a general sociological account of the context provide a method of triangulation for bringing out both resonances and dissonances within the various data. It is now time to turn to this data.

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<sup>1</sup> *Meaning components* are not the same as morphemes, as the former term also covers such features as lexemes, intonation patterns and word ordering. In this view the traditional division of grammar into semantics, lexis, morphology, syntax and phonology is replaced by the notion of meaning components instantiating concepts.

<sup>2</sup> The approach I take differs from Fairclough in that it includes the analysis of speech acts within the descriptive phase while Fairclough, who does not draw on CA, would consider this interpretation. For me interpretation only begins once non-textual factors are taken into consideration.

<sup>3</sup> The intonation pattern distinguishes this use from that of 'acceptance'.

<sup>4</sup> In the area of modality I differ radically from the standard SFL representation, as in Table 4.1, which seems to me to be based on the criteria of formal logic rather than the social functions of language. This distinction is discussed further in Chapter 8.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter 8, however, presents a specific case where these factors are not essential for analysis.

## **Chapter Five. Textual Analysis: Discourse and the Context of Ideology.**

### **5.1 The analysis of texts as products.**

This chapter uses methods of textual analysis compatible with the theory of grammar and discourse outlined in Chapter 3 to complement the description of Guyanese society and the Discourse of Development set out in Chapter 2 and to move the thesis towards the analysis of specific acts of discourse as they take place within this wider context in general and within the institutional contexts of the NRDDDB and Iwokrama in particular.

The analysis in this chapter looks at legal texts concerning the rights and obligations of the Amerindian population and compares Government attitudes towards the Amerindian role in development, as set out in the 1976 Revision of the Government of Guyana Amerindian Act, with the paternalistic and cooptative approaches criticised in Chapter 2. In marked contrast to this, an analysis of the 2001 NRDDDB Constitution shows that the Amerindian communities of the North Rupununi have claimed for themselves a highly agentic and largely autonomous role within the development process. However, the difference in the legal status of the two documents raises the possibility that any alternative construals of the Amerindian role in development they might display would reveal neither an active bias towards one group or the other nor an underlying passive construal of one group in a more positive light, but would rather be a function of the different constraints on the different genres to which the two documents belong. For this reason a third document, the 1996 Government of Guyana Iwokrama Act, is also analysed<sup>1</sup>. If construals of Iwokrama's contribution to development within the Iwokrama Act prove to be closer to the construal of Amerindian roles in the NRDDDB Constitution than those in the Amerindian Act, this would strongly suggest that differences between the Amerindian Act and the NRDDDB Constitution cannot be explained purely in terms of institutional and generic constraints but that they also reveal fundamental ideological differences between the

construal of the Amerindian role in development from the Government of Guyana on the one hand and from the Amerindian communities of the North Rupununi on the other.

The method of analysis employed in this chapter considers each text as a product, as a static and synergetic sum of its parts rather than as a dynamic process. This approach can often be applied to formal written documents as considered and stylised expressions of a single complex point of view. It is particularly applicable to legal documents such as these, the format of which is by nature comprehensive and repetitive so that there is not so much an ideational progression as an accumulation of variations on a theme.

Similarly, the tenor and mode of these documents are strongly determined by generic constraints and comparisons between them would be unlikely to reveal a great deal. The textual analysis in this chapter will therefore focus exclusively on the ideational metafunction and specifically on the transitivity roles within the various texts. The analytical method employed in comparing the texts is thus to label the process types in each one and to quantify the various participant roles each assigns to the Government and to Amerindians within these different processes. The quantitative results obtained can then be compared, interpreted and explained within the wider social setting. The mappings that these results produce will then represent the ideological parameters of the Discourse of Development within which the real-time texts analysed later will be judged, either as reproducing the prevailing ideology of the Amerindian Act or as provoking tensions within it towards the ideology of the NRDDDB Constitution.

While such a methodology is commonplace within CDA, efforts have been made to reduce or eliminate the failings of the discipline as discussed above. Firstly, the texts are of some length and are analysed in their entirety, thus avoiding the twin pitfalls of extrapolating from minimal data and of preselecting from the text fragments that fit the researcher's preconceived conclusions. Such a macro approach is reconciled to the micro need for sensitivity to context through the selection of an appropriate level of *delicacy* in categorising processes and participants (i.e. the level of



subcategorisation). Thus, while individual processes will be analysed according to their microcontexts, they will then be grouped into manageable superordinate sets formulated as a function of the research question asked during and after the analysis of individual textual examples. This means that, from the point of view of an analysis looking at the rights and obligations of groups in determining their own course of action, references to Iwokrama's RESEARCH may be classified as "business" in a system of semantic contrasts also including "law", "behaviour" and "mental/verbal processes". Alternatively, if the research question saw a relevant systemic contrast between, say, "business" and "science", then the token RESEARCH would, depending on its meaning within each micro context, most likely be categorised in opposition to "business".

This is a perfectly legitimate approach: the contrasts and complementarities that make up a given semantic network depend on the topic in question, and as the system as a whole differs so will the value of the tokens within it. However, the approach does raise the problem of subjectivity as the hard-and-fast linguistically-defined categories used by SFL and CDA are replaced by *ad hoc* ones. The semantic contrasts and the levels of generalisation I considered meaningful with respect to the representation of control and action, the ideological elements identified as crucial to transformative empowerment in Chapter 2, are set out in Figure 5.1. As stated, the end-terms in this systems network do not represent the actual lexical items used but the most delicate level of grouping considered both meaningful and workable (see Appendix 3 for a list of processes in the Amerindian Act and the superordinate value each was given in the analysis). Non-end-terms represent less delicate groupings that provide other angles for analysis.



Figure 5.1. Set of process and participant types analysed in legal documents.

While the only linguistic features analysed are participant roles and processes (the generic nature of the texts means that the modal source is generally ‘the author’), several roles are chosen so that the texts’ representations of control and action and the interaction between different participants can be examined from several complementary angles. The roles labelled and analysed are Initiator, Actor, Beneficiary and Patient<sup>2</sup>. The Initiator role, which I consider very important given the definitions of paternalism, cooptation, advocacy and empowerment above, refers to any participant explicitly stated as initiating or authorising a process undertaken either by themselves or by another participant; Actor refers to the participant (explicitly or implicitly) filling the A-role of each process (including agentless passives and states such as “being immune”- thus every process has an Actor); Beneficiary refers to those for or on behalf of whom the text explicitly states that an action is carried out, and also to Recipients of information or of goods and services; Patients are those on whom an action is carried out. Over and beyond the allocation of participants to processes, the analysis looks at Initiator-Actor, Actor-Patient and Actor-Beneficiary relationships. Example 5.1 is Article 20(3) of the Amerindian Act, which is unpacked into its constituent processes and participants in Table 5.1:

- 5.1 The proceeds of any such tax shall be paid to the district commissioner and shall be utilised by him exclusively for the benefit of the District, Area or Village in respect of which it has been levied and raised , and for such purposes and in such manner as the Chief Officer may approve.

Process	Initiator	Actor	Patient	Beneficiary
law:subject to:obey:PAY		(Amerindians - agentless passive)	proceeds of tax	GOG: district commissioner - TO
business:control money:UTILISE	GOG: Chief Officer - APPROVE	GOG: District Commissioner - BY	proceeds of tax	Amerindians: District, Area or Village - FOR THE BENEFIT OF
law:establish:make/change: LEVY AND RAISE		(GOG: District Commissioner - agentless passive)	proceeds of tax	Amerindians: District, Are or Village - IN RESPECT OF WHICH

*Table 5.1. Processes and participant roles in Example Article 20(3) of the Amerindian Act. Process types show semantic category and textual example. Participant roles include classification as Government (GOG) or Amerindian. Where role is signalled by means other than syntax this follows the participant as identified in the table.*

As for quantification, each process in the texts was analysed in context and allocated to one of the end-term semantic groupings of the systems network in Figure 5.1. It is worth reemphasising that this was a dynamic process in which the relevant superordinate groups were constructed in the process of analysis and do not represent preconceived categories. The total number of textual examples for each of these semantic grouping is then marked up, as is the total for each superordinate group as the sum of its subordinates. Figure 5.2 represents a fragment of the quantified systems network for the Amerindian Act with the figures referring to the number of times the Government itself is allocated the role of Actor for each process type. As a summary of actual instances of particular process types with the entry condition Actor:Government, Figure 5.2 is therefore a fragment of the systems network in Figure 5.1, which represents the set of potential combinations of all the meaningful contrasts employed in all three documents. The set of quantitative networks for each document on which the following analyses are based is given in Appendix 4.

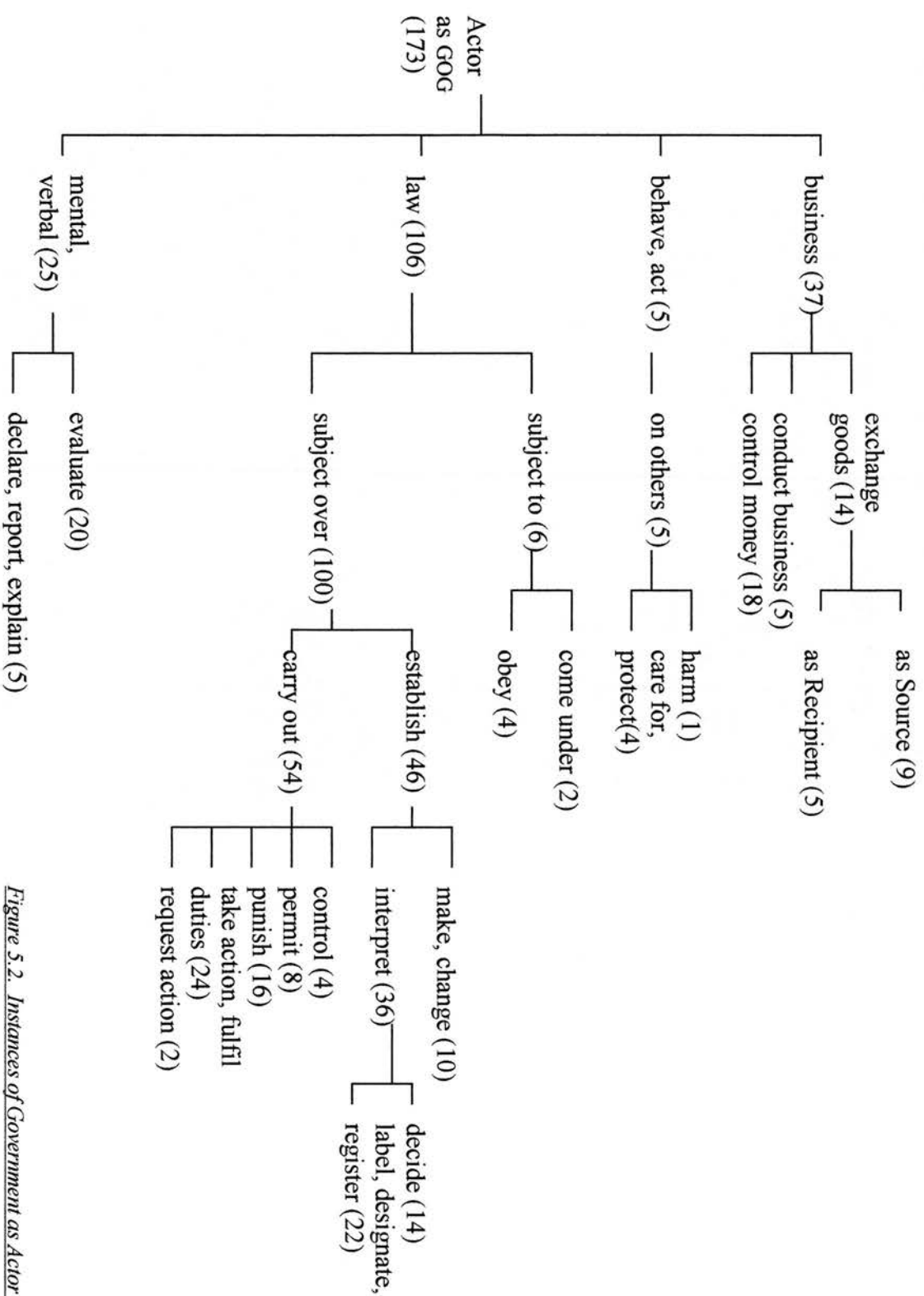


Figure 5.2. Instances of Government as Actor by process type.



## **5.2 The Amerindian Act of Guyana.**

Table 5.2 compares the roles allocated within the Amerindian Act to the Government of Guyana (GOG) and to Amerindian groups and so gives us a sketch of both the Government's construction of the two groups' respective power under law and the construal<sup>3</sup> of Amerindians that lies behind it.

Participant	Total roles played	Initiator roles	As % of roles	Actor roles	As % of roles	Ben. roles	As % of roles	Patient roles	As % of roles
GOG	277	86	31%	173	62.5%	10	3.6%	8	2.9%
Amerindians	213	4	1.9%	103	48.4%	51	23.9%	55	25.8%

*Table 5.2. Participant roles in the Amerindian Act.*

From these figures it is clear that through the Amerindian Act the Government construes itself as more agentive in the process of Amerindian protection and development than the Amerindians themselves. For example, in 62.5% of all references to GOG it is allocated the Actor role, as compared to 48.4% for Amerindians. Taken from a different perspective, GOG is construed as Actor in 62.7% of all Processes in the Act compared with 37.3% for Amerindians.

Actor	Total Actor roles	As % of Actor roles in Amerindian Act
GOG	173	62.7%
Amerindians	103	37.3%

*Table 5.3. GOG and Amerindians as Actor in the Amerindian Act.*

The Government is construed as initiating 31% of all the activities in which it is involved while Amerindians initiate a paltry 1.9% of the actions in which they are involved. Conversely, Amerindians are construed as Beneficiary and Patient in 23.9% and 25.8% of their activities respectively, compared with 3.6% and 2.9% for the Government. These

last two roles represent the Amerindians as extremely reliant on outside actors leading development activities, accounting between them for 49.7% of all Amerindian activity compared with a mere 6.5% for the Government. This dependency relationship can be further highlighted by interrelating the allocation of different participation roles, as in Table 5.4.

Actor	Total	Other as Initiator	As % of actions	Other as Beneficiary	As % of actions
Amerindians	103	39	37.9%	5	4.9%
GOG	173	1	0.6%	30	17.3%

*Table 5.4. Initiators and beneficiaries of actions, Amerindian Act.*

This table shows that whereas only 0.6% of all processes with the Government as Actor have a different participant as the Initiator, 37.9% of all Amerindian Actor roles are initiated or authorised by others. Similarly, the Government is the Beneficiary of only 4.9% of Amerindian actions, whereas Amerindians are seen as the Beneficiaries of 17.3% of all Government actions.

Turning specifically to the process type 'protect' we can see a more direct construal of the paternalist relationship between the Government and the Amerindian population. Within this process type the two groups show a complementary distribution, with the Government four times allocated the Actor role, and each time with Amerindians as Patients, while Amerindians are never construed as Actors within this process type. Also relevant to the notion of empowerment as the ability both to decide on the course of action as well as to act upon it is the allocation of Actor roles for Processes of evaluation. These number 20 to 5 in favour of the Government, representing 11.5% and 4.9% of total Actor roles for each respectively.

Actor	Total Actor roles	Protect	As % of all Actor roles	Evaluate	As % of all Actor roles
GOG	173	4	2.3%	20	11.56%
Amerindians	103	0	0%	5	4.9%

*Table 5.5. Participant roles for Protect and Evaluate, Amerindian Act.*

Looking at other specific areas of activity we can see that the Government is the Actor in money dealings 18 times (10.4% of all their actions), a role never allocated to Amerindians, even though the money is for Amerindian concerns and the Government is three times explicitly stated as dealing with money on the Amerindians' behalf. A similar picture appears in business matters, for while the respective percentages as Actors in business matters might appear to favour Amerindian groups, eleven out of the 16 processes are initiated by the Government. None of the Government's money dealings are initiated by other groups.

Actor	Total	Money (other-initiated)	As % of actions	Business (other-initiated)	As % of actions
Amerindians	103	0	0%	16 (11)	15.5%
GOG	173	18 (0)	10.4%	5 (0)	2.9%

*Table 5.6. Actors in money and business, Amerindian Act.*

The paternalistic tone of the Act is widely recognised. William has referred to the "passive" role of Amerindians within it to me, while the Amerindian Peoples' Association (APA 1998:1) says in its *Plain English Guide to the Amerindian Act*:

The 1976 Act is based on previous laws concerning Amerindians that date back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was when Guyana was still a British colony and Amerindians were not considered capable of representing and speaking for ourselves. The same way of thinking is still present in the 1976 [revision of the] Amerindian Act. It is extremely paternalistic, offensive in many respects, discriminatory and provides almost no protection for our rights.

In December 1993 the National Assembly passed a resolution to revise the Act “on democratic grounds to enlarge the self-determination of Amerindians” (cited in NRDDDB and Iwokrama 1999:23). However, the Sunday Stabroek of 14<sup>th</sup> April 2002 reports that the three main Amerindian organisations “have expressed concerns about the process which is to be used to review the Amerindian Act” as they themselves have not been included in the revision process and they “neither know who are the members of the committee and how such persons were or are to be selected”. At the time of writing the Government, and particularly the new Minister of Amerindian Affairs, has been making efforts to rectify these failings, though the issue is still a matter of some contention and a picture does emerge of the Government working ‘on the Amerindians’ behalf’ rather than entrusting them with legal matters concerning their own future.

### **5.3 The NRDDDB Constitution.**

The next text analysed is the NRDDDB Constitution of 2001, chosen to demonstrate the roles the Amerindian communities of the North Rupununi construe for themselves and the Government in Amerindian development. NGOs also figure in the NRDDDB Constitution and their roles are added to the Government’s figures on the grounds, relevant to the research question, that they represent outside influence. Dealing with this text both in isolation and in comparison with the Amerindian Act, we can get a condensed idea of the vastly different roles envisaged in each for Amerindians. Table 5.7 shows the distribution of participant roles in the NRDDDB Constitution and compares this with the figures for the Amerindian Act.

Participant	Initiator: Const.	Initiator: Act	Actor: Const.	Actor: Act	Ben.: Const.	Ben.: Act	Pat.: Const	Pat.: Act
GOG/NGO	14.3%	31%	57.1%	62.5%	14.3%	3.6%	14.3%	2.9%
Amerindians	15.3%	1.9%	57.6%	48.4%	12.9%	23.9%	14.1%	25.8%

*Table 5.7. Participant roles in the NRDDDB Constitution as compared with the Amerindian Act.*

In the Constitution, the Government and NGO groups are construed as Actor in 57.1% of all references to it, compared with 57.6% of all references to Amerindian groups as Actors. Both sides are thus seen as predominantly active in their own right.

Amerindians, however, are given more responsibility in absolute terms, as Actors in 89.1% of all actions in the Constitution, as compared with 37.3% in the Amerindian Act, as shown in Table 5.8.

Actor	Total Actor roles	As % of Actor roles in NRDDDB Constitution	Comparative % of Actor roles in Amerindian Act
GOG	12	10.9%	62.7%
Amerindians	98	89.1%	37.3%

*Table 5.8. Actor roles compared between Amerindian Act and NRDDDB Constitution.*

In the NRDDDB Constitution the role of Initiator accounts for 14.3% of total GOG/NGO roles and 15.3% of total Amerindian roles, representing virtual equality in contrast to the huge discrepancy in favour of Government initiation in the Amerindian Act (31% of all GOG references compared with 1.9% of Amerindian references). Beneficiary accounts for 14.3% of GOG/NGO roles and 12.9% of Amerindian roles in the Constitution, again representing virtual parity in contrast to the Amerindian Act, where Amerindians are portrayed as Beneficiaries far more than the Government (23.9% of all Amerindian references as compared with 3.6% of references to GOG). As regards the Patient role, the Constitution once again represents virtual parity, with 14.3% of GOG roles and 14.1% Amerindian roles as Patients, while in the Amerindian Act 25.8% of all Amerindian roles are as Patient compared with only 2.9% of Government roles.

In terms of role allocation, then, the overall make-up of each participant is almost identical here, unlike the hugely skewed Amerindian Act. However, there are significant differences at a greater delicacy of analysis. Table 5.9 shows that only 3.1% of Amerindian actions in the Constitution are initiated/authorised by other participants, for example, as compared with 37.9% in the Amerindian Act, while 66.7% of GOG/NGO actions are initiated by the NRDDDB in the Constitution, compared with 0.6% of other-



initiated GOG actions in the Amerindian Act. And while GOG/NGO are the Beneficiary of 3.1% of all Amerindian actions in the Constitution as compared with 4.9% in the Amerindian Act, Amerindians are only once seen as the Beneficiaries of GOG/NGO actions in the Constitution, representing 8.3% of all GOG actions, compared with 17.3% in the Amerindian Act.

Actor	Other as Initiator: Constitution	Other as Initiator: Amerindian Act	Other as Beneficiary: Constitution	Other as Beneficiary: Amerindian Act
Amerindians	3.1%	37.9%	3.1%	4.9%
GOG	66.7%	0.6%	8.3%	17.3%

*Table 5.9. Initiators and beneficiaries of actions, NRDDDB Constitution.*

Looking at the same specific areas for the NRDDDB Constitution as for the Amerindian Act, we find that for Processes of protection responsibility is far more evenly shared in the Constitution than in the Amerindian Act. Unexpectedly, however, Processes of evaluation appear even more skewed in favour of the outside groups. The explanation for this latter point could be that, while each group is construed as evaluating twice, this represents a large fraction of the severely restricted GOG/NGO participation.

Actor	Total Actor roles	Protect	As % of participant's total Actor roles	Evaluate	As % of participant's total Actor roles
GOG	12	1	8.33%	2	16.7%
Amerindians	98	6	6.1%	2	2%

*Table 5.10. Participant roles for Protect and Evaluate compared between Amerindian Act and NRDDDB Constitution.*

As for business and money, construal of control in the Constitution is the opposite of that in the Amerindian Act. Amerindians are five times construed as Actor in money matters, but GOG/NGO never. Similarly, Amerindians are constructed as conducting business twelve times, with themselves as Initiator seven times and GOG/NGO never, whereas

GOG/NGO are only once constructed as carrying out business, and this action is initiated/authorised by the NRDDDB.

Actor	Total	Money (other-initiated)	As % of actions	Business (other-initiated)	As % of actions
GOG	12	0	0%	1 (1)	8.33%
Amerindians	98	5 (0)	5.1%	12 (0)	12.2%

*Table 5.11. Actors in money and business, NRDDDB Constitution.*

The NRDDDB Constitution, therefore, constructs a far more active and authoritative role for Amerindians than the Amerindian Act does. Dealing specifically with the question of empowerment as the ability both to choose and act for yourself, we could provisionally label the Initiator role as demonstrating the power to choose the course of action and the Actor role the power to act upon this choice. The Beneficiary role implies someone acting on your behalf or in your interest. In terms of Amerindian empowerment then, the following pattern compares the distribution of the participant roles in these analyses to the figure for different types of empowerment in Chapter 2. Only those instances in the text that specify the participant types involved will be counted:

Initiator	Actor	Beneficiary	Comparable power relationship
	GOG/NGO	Am	paternalism
Am	GOG/NGO		advocacy
GOG/NGO	Am		cooptation
Am	Am		transformation

*Table 5.12. Relating participant roles to a typology of empowerment.*

Looking at the two texts so far, we get the following results (out of a total of 210 processes in the Amerindian Act and 110 in the NRDDDB Constitution):

	<u>Amerindian</u> <u>Act</u>	<u>NRDDB</u> <u>Constitution</u>
<u>paternalism</u>	30 (41.1%)	1 (3.7%) <sup>4</sup>
<u>advocacy</u>	1 (1.4%) <sup>5</sup>	7 (25.9%)
<u>cooptation</u>	39 (53.4%)	2 (7.4%)
<u>transformation</u>	3 (4.1%)	17 (63%)
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>27</u>

*Table 5.13. Empowerment as constructed in the Amerindian Act and the NRDDB Constitution.*

The picture here is clear, the Amerindian Act sees the relationship between GOG and Amerindians as one of paternalism and cooptation, while the NRDDB Constitution calls overwhelmingly for transformational empowerment, but also for GOG/NGO to play the advocate's role for them in certain domains. It could of course be argued that these two texts represent very different genres fulfilling very different functions and that the results obtained so far reflect these differences. This is clearly the case and to ignore it would be to be guilty of the failings of CDA as outlined by Widdowson and others above. For that reason, it is necessary to examine a second Act of Parliament and to triangulate the construction of social roles in it with those of both the Amerindian Act and the NRDDB Constitution. The constant in these two texts is the subject matter: the legal construal of participant roles in the development process. The independent variables are: (i) the generic type of document analysed (Act/Constitution); and (ii) the perspective from which participation was construed (Government's/Amerindian); while the dependent variable was the nature of the construal. To isolate the independent variable determining the vastly different construals of participation in the two documents it is possible to turn to a third document, the 1996 Government of Guyana Iwokrama Act. This document is of the same generic type as the Amerindian Act and likewise reflects the Government construal of participation in the development process, only the division of participation is between the Government and Iwokrama rather than the Government and the Amerindian population in this case. Given, however, that the Acts both deal with the limits of autonomy on groups operating within sovereign Guyanese territory, if the Iwokrama Act should resemble the NRDDB Constitution more than the Amerindian Act, then we can

conclude: (i) that differences between the Amerindian Act and the NRDDDB Constitution are motivated more by different construals of Amerindian participation than by generic type; (ii) that differences between the Iwokrama Act and the Amerindian Act reflect different construals of the autonomy of the two groups by the Government of Guyana.

#### **5.4 The Iwokrama Act of Guyana.**

We can look at the Iwokrama Act both in isolation and alongside the Amerindian Act and NRDDDB Constitution to get an idea of the relationship construed between Iwokrama and GOG and to compare this with the relationship between GOG and the Amerindian population as construed in the previous two texts. The valid comparison is therefore between the roles construed to Iwokrama here and to Amerindians in the other two texts.

Participant	Total references	No of Actor roles	Actor role as % of references	Participant's % of all Actor roles
GOG	83	69	83.1%	26.2%
Iwokrama	285	194	68%	73.8%

*Table 5.14. Actor roles, Iwokrama Act.*

Table 5.14 reveals that both sides are seen as predominantly active, and while GOG has the higher proportion of Actor to other roles (83.1% of all references), Iwokrama is Actor in the outright majority of all actions (73.8%). The comparative figures for Amerindian actions as percentage of all actions are 37.3% in the Amerindian Act and 89.1% in the NRDDDB Constitution.

Participant	Text	Participant as Actor as % of all actions
Amerindians	Amerindian Act	37.3%
Amerindians	NRDDDB Constitution	89.1%
Iwokrama	Iwokrama Act	73.8%

*Table 5.15. Actor roles compared, Amerindian Act, NRDDDB Constitution and Iwokrama Act.*

There is thus a huge distinction between the texts in terms of who is construed as the principal actor overall. The Amerindian Act is weighted 62.7% to 37.3% in favour of GOG actions over Amerindian actions, but the NRDDDB Constitution reverses the roles dramatically, construing GOG as Actor in only 10.9% of all actions as against 89.1% for Amerindians. The Iwokrama Act falls somewhere between the two Acts, though is clearly closer to the NRDDDB Constitution in construing GOG as Actor in only 26.2% of actions compared with Iwokrama as Actor in 73.8% of actions.

Participant	Actor as % of roles	Initiator as % of roles	Beneficiary as % of roles	Patient as % of roles
Iwokrama	68%	12.6%	8.4%	10.9%
GOG	83.1%	7.2%	4.8%	4.8%

*Table 5.16. Participant roles, Iwokrama Act.*

Table 5.16 shows that for the role of Initiator the figures are 7.2% of total GOG roles and 12.6% of total Iwokrama roles. Beneficiary accounts for 4.8% of all GOG roles and 8.4% of all Iwokrama roles. And Patient accounts for 4.8% and 10.9% of all references to GOG and Iwokrama respectively. The distribution of roles therefore represents a balance comparable to the NRDDDB Constitution and far removed from the picture of GOG as dominant Initiator and Amerindians as prime Beneficiaries as construed through the Amerindian Act.

Text	Actor	GOG as Initiator of actions
Iwokrama Act	Iwokrama	6.7%
NRDDDB Constitution	Amerindians	3.1%
Amerindian Act	Amerindians	37.9%

*Table 5.17. Actor and Initiator roles, Amerindian Act, NRDDDB Constitution and Iwokrama Act.*



At a greater level of delicacy, 6.7% of Iwokrama actions in the Iwokrama Act are initiated/authorised by GOG compared with 3.1% of Amerindian actions initiated/authorised by other participants in the NRDDDB Constitution and 37.9% in the Amerindian Act, as shown in Table 5.17. The Amerindian Act is clearly skewed in relation to the other two texts then in putting such constraints on the actions of non-governmental Actors. Similarly, Iwokrama is construed as the Beneficiary of 13.8% of all GOG actions in the Iwokrama Act, lying somewhere between the construal for Amerindians in the NRDDDB Constitution (8.3%) and the Amerindian Act (17.3%), as shown in Table 5.18.

Text	Beneficiary	As % of GOG as Actions
Iwokrama Act	Iwokrama	13.8%
NRDDDB Constitution	Amerindians	8.3%
Amerindian Act	Amerindians	17.3%

*Table 5.18. Beneficiary role, Amerindian Act, NRDDDB Constitution, Iwokrama Act.*

Looking at the same specific areas as for the NRDDDB Constitution and the Amerindian Act, Table 5.19 shows a parity in the roles of evaluation and protection that once again resembles the NRDDDB Constitution more closely than the Amerindian Act.

Actor	Total Actor roles	Protect	As % of all Actor roles	Evaluate	As % of all Actor roles
GOG	69	2	2.9%	5	7.2%
Iwokrama	194	7	3.6%	8	4.1%

*Table 5.19. Participant roles of Protect and Evaluate, Iwokrama Act.*

This is also the case with control over money and business: GOG is construed as Actor in only one out of 22 Processes concerning money, with Iwokrama as Actor in the remaining 21. Similarly, Iwokrama is construed as conducting its daily business 33

times, with an outside Initiator only once (and this is not GOG but another NGO), whereas GOG is only once constructed as carrying out business.

Actor	Total	Money (other-initiated)	As % of actor roles	Business (other-initiated)	As % of actor roles
GOG	69	1 (0)	1.5% (0%)	2 (0)	3% (0%)
Iwokrama	194	21 (0)	12.8% (0%)	33 (1)	17% (0.5%)

*Table 5.20. Actors in money and business, Iwokrama Act.*

Returning to the question of empowerment as the ability both to choose and act for yourself, we can complete the figure below:

	<u>Amerindian Act</u>	<u>NRDDB Constitution</u>	<u>Iwokrama Act</u>
<u>paternalism</u>	30 (41.1%)	1 (3.7%)	5 (23.8%)
<u>advocacy</u>	1 (1.4%)	7 (25.9%)	3 (14.3%)
<u>cooptation</u>	39 (53.4%)	2 (7.4%)	4 (19%)
<u>transformation</u>	3 (4.1%)	17 (63%)	9 (42.9%)
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>21</u>

*Table 5.21: Empowerment as constructed in the Amerindian Act, the NRDDB Constitution and the Iwokrama Act.*

In all categories in Table 5.21 the statistics for the Iwokrama Act come somewhere between those for the Amerindian Act and the NRDDB Constitution, and in the crucial area of transformational empowerment the divide between the Iwokrama Act and the NRDDB Constitution on the one hand and the Amerindian Act on the other is striking. There is a major caveat, however, in that while Amerindian development is largely construed as under some form of external control from the Government in the Amerindian Act, power relations *within* Iwokrama are complex as those who work in the communities are answerable to a Board of Trustees jointly appointed by GOG and the Commonwealth Secretary-General (Iwokrama Act 1996:Article 11) and ultimately to donor groups with political considerations beyond the running of the Iwokrama

Programme. Including the Board of Trustees within the participant category Iwokrama, as I have done in these analyses, is therefore not beyond question. However, Table 5.21 clearly highlights a bias on the part of GOG towards granting Iwokrama the sort of empowerment that the Amerindians seek for themselves but are legally denied, as do the vast majority of the statistics presented in this section as a whole.

### **5.5 The legal construal of participant roles as part of the wider social context.**

While the Amerindian Act recognises a degree of autonomy for the Amerindian people, they are construed within it as a backward people who can only develop through the instigation and agency of the Government - as Uncle Fred said at the Surama Management Training Workshop, as a liability rather than as an asset. In this way the Amerindian people can simultaneously stand as a symbol of Guyana's non-European past yet be firmly enclosed within the unifying myth of the national motto: "One Nation, One People, One Destiny", the paradox identified by Forte (1996b:8-9) above. Conversely, Iwokrama, an international development organisation, can be given a greater degree of control over their own affairs without calling into question this unifying myth of Guyanese nationhood.

The representation of the Amerindians within the Act is at once a passive reproduction of the stereotypical and negative portrait of Amerindians often heard from non-Amerindians (see for example the testimonies in Chapter 2), and an active reproduction in law of these characteristics as a means of maintaining the status quo. In contrast, the history of the NRDDB as a third space where the communities of the North Rupununi aim to strengthen their culture through the appropriation of new ideas and technologies suggests that the agentive construal of Amerindians within the NRDDB Constitution can be seen as an active attempt to challenge the prevailing ideology of the Amerindian Act and to expand the limits of indigenous participation in and control over their own development. These competing ideologies now become parameters within which to measure discourse as

practice within the context of the Discourse of Development in Guyana and the following chapters draw on the model of language and power developed in Chapter 3 to examine and contrast various texts according to how they either reproduce the ideology of the Amerindian Act or create tensions that challenge it from the perspective of the NRDDDB Constitution.

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<sup>1</sup> The three texts are reproduced as Appendix 11.

<sup>2</sup> These participant roles are not identical to those of SFL as they include semantic relationships made explicit in the texts as well as those roles derivable from valency patterns.

<sup>3</sup> I use the terms *construe* and *construal* in these analyses to refer to the way in which lexicogrammatical features can be said to 'construe reality' (see Halliday and Matthiessen 1999).

<sup>4</sup> This single example is Article 7.2, which begins "Contributions to the Fund may be solicited from funding agencies...". This is analysed in part as Process:contribute; Actor:GOG/NGO; Beneficiary:NRDDDB. However, as the Article finishes with "...agreed to and sanctioned by the membership of the Board" NRDDDB also fills the Initiator/Authoriser role and so the idea of paternalism is tempered.

<sup>5</sup> The sole example here is Article 42(2) which states that exemption certificates "may, with the consent of the Amerindian, be revoked by the Chief Officer...". This is analysed as Process:revoke; Actor:GOG; Initiator/Authority:Amerindian.

## **Chapter Six. Textual Analysis: Utterances and the Context of Situation.**

### **6.1 Introduction.**

Chapter 5 used the methods of CDA to analyse three key background texts and enhance the description of the social context of development in the Rupununi as set out in Chapter 2; in this chapter and the next I draw on the insights of SFL and CA to consider who controls the structure and content of discourse within development fora; how this comes about; and how different patterns of control relate to the paternalist construal of development and control in the Amerindian Act on the one hand and to the more empowering construals of the NRRDB Constitution on the other. Different patterns of control identified as operating simultaneously in practice will be said to create tension which, following Lemke and Martin (see Chapter 3), can be exploited by those wishing to further perturb the existing relations between the groups, within discourse fora themselves and beyond into wider society.

The analyses within this chapter come from an Iwokrama-led workshop and several NRDDDB meetings and cover a 22-month period. They can be interpreted in terms of: (i) synchronic differences within the distribution of power between the NRDDDB and Iwokrama depending on speaker and context, and (ii) a diachronic shift in favour of the local population, motivated at least in part by these synchronic variations, or tensions, during the period in question. Chapter 7 takes this theme further to suggest that the distinctive institutional nature of NRDDDB Meetings has resulted in a broadening of the meaning potential within NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse in general, so increasing and enhancing the contribution of indigenous participants. This enhanced contribution then further broadens the meaning potential generated. The implications for empowerment of the analyses will be considered in more detail in Chapter 9.

In terms of the notion of language as a social semiotic and the communicative advantages that accrue to native speakers in terms of ease of linguistic production and reception and familiarity with institutional conventions, it is worth noting here that workshops and



similar institutional formats are non-instinctive for professional development workers as well as local participants. For one thing, not all of these workers are native speakers of English and, for another, such institutional formats do not comprise part of any group's primary socialisation. However, it can be claimed that these professional workers have been prepared for such discourse, often in English, as part of their generally very high level of education (see Chapter 3) and that their greater experience of working within such institutional genres constitutes a high level of secondary socialisation. Similarly, these genres are not autogenetic but ideologically-oriented extensions of existing language practice and as such they represent the social semiotic of the international development community in which they were developed.

## **6.2 Analytical methods**

The first text analysed in this chapter is taken from a workshop on management planning convened by Iwokrama at the request of the NRDDDB and covers a period when William had temporarily assumed the role of chair/facilitator (Tape 8). However, the analysis shows how the workshop genre in and of itself created a space which, despite the best intentions and efforts on both sides, reflected the disequilibrium of symbolic capital between Iwokrama representatives and the local community in terms of the management of speaker turns and content addressed. The analyses in the following section (Tapes 11, 22, 37&40; see Appendix 1 for a chronology of recordings), conversely, focus on texts from more experienced Amerindian speakers and texts from later NRDDDB meetings chaired by William to demonstrate that, under specific circumstances, the structural asymmetries of power in some institutional genres are not without tension and can be challenged.

The analyses draw on the insights of CA to describe the sequential and turn-taking character of the various episodes, highlighting salient lexicogrammatical features within the framework of SFL. However, whereas CA focuses on the minute detail of exchanges to reveal the mechanisms that make the joint construction of discourse possible in behavioural terms, the analyses that follow take such sequential descriptions as the starting point for interpreting the discourse in terms of the interpersonal relations between

participants and the nature of the institutional context itself. This interpretation is then explained within the wider sociopolitical context in which the discourse is embedded, according to the model of language and power developed in Chapter 3, to suggest deeper systemic reasons for the turn-taking character of the texts. Potentially subjective explanations are strengthened by a process of triangulation that sets them within a framework that also includes the testimonies of other participants and the sociological description of the context in Chapter 2.

My approach thus follows Fairclough's (1989) three-stage process of analysis: description, interpretation and explanation. It differs from that approach, however, in that within the initial phase I go beyond the description of lexicogrammatical features at clause level to consider the intention and effect of utterances and exchanges insofar as these can be deduced on the evidence of the text alone. In interpreting and explaining the texts the analysis can then draw on the description of the development process in Guyana in Chapter 2 to consider the effects of power relations within and between the various participating groups on the production and interpretation of utterances.

### **6.3 Textual analysis: Iwokrama-dominated discourse**

The workshop on community management planning in Text 6.1, was organised to train local participants in a holistic approach to development and the integrated exploitation of community resources. The overall strategy was to draw on community experience to fit a general methodology, developed by Iwokrama, to local specifics. It thus relied on the productive participation of locals as part of a two-way exchange of knowledge.

Workshops took place in several communities, and Text 6.1 comes from the workshop in Toka, which involved two representatives from Iwokrama, Graham and Simone. The workshop took the general cyclical format of a presentation of the theory to the entire group from Iwokrama, followed by discussions in two smaller groups. In the evenings the two groups reported back and compared notes. Each of the smaller discussion groups comprised around a dozen participants from the community and an Iwokrama representative to facilitate discussion. The facilitation role included stimulating and maintaining the flow of discussion and the writing up of salient points. The role therefore

entails ultimate control over the turn-taking character of the event, although it allows for considerable variation in the exercise of this power. The reporting-back sessions were more or less jointly constructed by Iwokrama and local participants, though the Iwokrama representatives remained the focal points of the discussions. Throughout the tone was friendly and relatively informal, particularly in the discussion groups, where there was no prescribed structure to the discourse itself. Text 6.1 is taken from one of the discussion groups. The Iwokrama representative here is Simone (S), the designer of the workshop programme, and amongst the participants are two of the most prominent members of the local community, William (W), later to become Chairman of the NRDDDB, and Eugene (Eu), village pastor and ex-Touchau<sup>1</sup>. Eugene and William are both extremely aware of the conditions of Amerindians in Guyana at the close of the twentieth century, as we have seen above, and are both fluent and articulate speakers of English. William, however, is a native Makushi speaker, having learned English chiefly at school, while Eugene was raised as a native English speaker on the coast and has a largely passive knowledge of Makushi. The discussion group took place in a classroom of the village school with the facilitator standing at the front of the class with a flipchart to hand and the remainder of the participants seated on school benches.

In the following text William is to take on the role of facilitator, previously played by Simone, in an attempt at skills-transfer. The importance of the event as an exercise in empowering the community is not lost on William, who refers to this at various points. In William's words (lines 31-33 in Text 6.1), this exercise provides Toka with the chance of:

- 31. (xxx) identifying what we could do right away, could do right away, like then, right?,
- 32. what we could do, what we can..what is..what we are capable of doing..by
- 33. ourself.

Similarly William emphasises that:

- 57. Simone is not
- 58. going to do it for us anymore..we've got to do it for ourselves.

And even more explicitly:

65. And, er, while we talk now, using this thing here, remember...using this method and  
 66. as we come up with ideas Vanessa is going to write it for us. Actually, it's a..a..a s-..a  
 67. step for us in this community to show er if we have the potentials at doing it..because  
 68. later on that..later on we're going to do all the..the 27 that we have listed yesterday.  
 69. Right? We're not going to depend on Iwokrama for er..come and do this any more,  
 70. but we'll have to do it for ourselves= =remember this is not for Iwokrama, this is for  
 71. the people in this village.  
 72. (2s)  
 73. So shall we go ahead?

In lines 31 to 33 above William takes great care with his choice of words, changing from “could” to “can” to “are capable” (which he stresses). The choice of “are capable” emphasises the notion of skills existing within the community and waiting to be tapped, as opposed to either immediate possibilities (CAN) at one extreme or merely theoretical possibilities (COULD) at the other. This is echoed elsewhere when William speaks, as in his use of “potential” in line 67. For William, then, control over discourse formats such as the workshop represents a step towards empowerment. If, however, control of the workshop format remains with outside development organisations and fails to elicit and respond to significant contributions from the local community, there is a very real danger that such exercises are little more than the means by which these communities are coopted into the preconceived plans of development organisations, providing them with the rubber stamp of ‘community participation’. In Text 6.1 this does seem to be what comes about, as William is unable to sustain his role as facilitator and, unintentionally and seamlessly, control reverts to Simone through her symbolic power as a representative of Iwokrama. As a result the workshop fails to perturb the top-down ideological constraints of the Discourse of Development in terms of both form and content. Reading through the complete extract, there is clearly a pattern whereby control of the discourse, after being passed ceremonially to **W**, shifts back, over several stages, from **W** to **S**:

- I. Lines 1-11. Preamble.
- II. 12-27. Handover.
- III. 28-121. **W**'s confident presentation.
- IV. 122-157. **W**'s growing unease.
- V. 157-182. **S**'s concern for **W**.
- VI. 183-212. **S**'s guiding of the process.
- VII. 213-275. **S**'s taking over of the process, reformulating work done by **W** in stage III.

Transcription conventions are given on page xv.

### 6.3.1 Description and interpretation of Text 6.1.

*Text 6.1. Tape 8. Management Planning Workshop, Toka schoolhouse, 19/3/2000.*

*I and II: Preamble and Handover.*

- 1 S: The second thing is is whether or not we want to continue with drinking water,  
 2 (xxxxxxx). Now (xxxxx) topic of discussion, where do we go from here. (xxx).  
 3 What= =what is, what kind of thing you've put together so <sup>↑</sup>far and what is the  
 4 future..next steps of activity. (xx) remember, this is just the beginning, it's a (?step)  
 5 assessment. Of (x) developing a management plan..erm, what does Toka..what does  
 6 Toka want to do..and to what extent would you like to..continue to have Iwokrama  
 7 involved in..in..in facilitating it. And in..in building capacity to to (xx).  
 8 ((data omitted))
- 9 S: Okay, so you're prepared to finish off the water. [Okay.]
- 10 W: [I feel] the whole point (xxxx).  
 11 ((unclear background discussion))
- 12 S: I wish..I was hoping that maybe you could (xx) do it (to the other xx room).  
 13 Just kind of get one person to do what er...what..er er I was hoping (?to be) facilitator  
 14 and one (person xx) to do the planning (xxxxx). Yeah?
- 15 W: Okay.
- 16 S: Right, William, you in shape for this?
- 17 W: A'right.
- 18 S: (Or we could) try...
- 19 W: (xxxxxx).
- 20 S: (xx) did you want (xxx). So we need..two other people...Vanessa..Eugene...
- 21 W: VANESSA! COME NOW! °(xxxx)°.  
 22 ((shuffling)) (12s)  
 23 Come here and do some writing.  
 24 (9s)
- 25 S: Here, Vanessa, (you could do with this pen).  
 26 ((mumbling)) (50s)  
 27 So...

#### *Description.*

In this section of data **S** introduces the topic of water to be developed later on and relates it to the process so far (3) and what is expected to follow (3-4), restating the whole purpose of the workshop (4-7) in terms that emphasise Toka as the Agents of their own development (5-6) with Iwokrama as no more than facilitators (7). Once the local participants seem to have no objections, **S** is able to initiate the next stage (12), which is to have **W** take over her role as facilitator. **S** does this indirectly, checking that **W** is "in



shape" (16), and **W** agrees to take over (17). **S** and **W** between them get **Vanessa** to take over the role of writing up brief notes on the discourse, mixing a direct summons and a command (20&21) with an indirect suggestion (25). Another prolonged period of off-the-record discussion (26) brings this phase to a close, and **S** takes the initiative in reopening the process (27).

### *Interpretation.*

While this section of discourse allows **S** and **W** to work together, and leads to **W** becoming the focus of the event, it is **S** who has both provided the *raison d'être* and set the structure of the exercise, and it is **S** who has been in a position to move the process along both from preamble to handover and from handover to **W**'s presentation. Thus, while **W** now has the floor, both the field of activity and the interpersonal roles within the workshop have been established within **S**'s terms and under her control - as is to be expected, given that **S** has been invited by the local community to give the workshop.

### *III. William's confident presentation.*

- 28 **W:** Right..erm..right..start talking about drinking water problem. The erm (shortfall  
29 here), right? There was three activities or key sections (xxxx).  
30 (11s)  
31 (xxx) identifying what we could do right away, could do right away, like then, right?,  
32 what we could do, what we can..what is..what we are capable of doing..by  
33 ourself..(xxx) for own water..uh, and we talk about..and one of the..why we choose  
34 this here because it was more important than any other thing else. So, er..we started  
35 off by the well, but this one here should be worked on the fixed current..well for short-  
36 term access. And with this here now..this is what, this is what they call activity...and  
37 er...the method..or the way of doing= =working this out right is through the  
38 management. plan..is using these thi:ngs..Right?  
39 (23s)  
40 And this is what we were actually doing yesterday afternoon...with..er..we could do  
41 this one here and said what is the proposed solution..and er..for each solution, (check).  
42 We said..what you think would have been the best thing? How you (?go about) by  
43 doing this thing here, right?
- 44 **S:** Right.
- 45 **W:** But those this..how does this fit with the problem, go within all the other areas of  
46 natural resources. Now...when we doing that thing there, how..how is it going  
47 to..affect the creek or..affect the people or affect the animals..and so forth. Right?  
48 So when we planning all of those things, looking at...we looking at how it would..er  
49 (?pump up) the creek then, or the fishes in the creek, if it would disturb your fishes in

- 50 the creek, or if it would disturb the animal, or if it would disturb the bird, or if it would  
 51 destroy..we looking at all the thing around you here. You understand? But, when we  
 52 say that..we have a problem with the creek= =is that it filling up, if we could use the  
 53 sand from the creek now..we have the (xx) sand (xx), but this is so small..and it  
 54 wouldn't show no kinda change like, i..in the creek, that is whether it will be..close up  
 55 with sand. So, this is a..(concluding stage),< that is why the action (xxxxxxx) through  
 56 all of these stage here.> We have 1, 2, 3, 4, 5...just to do one of it. Okay? All these  
 57 thing here. And now..what we doing this morning is that they not..Simone is not  
 58 going to do it for us anymore..we've got to do it for ourselves. We did this one here?  
 59 Yesterday?  
 60 ((noise of flipchart))  
 61 And now we doing this one here.  
 62 (p)  
 63 Okay?  
 64 (p)  
 65 And, er, while we talk now, using this thing here, remember...using this method and as  
 66 we come up with ideas Vanessa is going to write it for us. Actually, it's a..a..a s-..a  
 67 step for us in this community to show er if we have the potentials at doing it..because  
 68 later on that..later on we're going to do all the..the 27 that we have listed yesterday.  
 69 Right? We're not going to depend on Iwokrama for er..come and do this any more,  
 70 but we'll have to do it for ourselves= =remember this is not for Iwokrama, this is for  
 71 the people in this village.  
 72 (2s)  
 73 So shall we go ahead?  
 74 (p)  
 75 Let me check off this one.  
 76 (39s) ((a little mumbling))  
 77 Let everything fund..funded reserve...reservoir
- 78 **Eu:** (Matty Guyana, Guywa) help us?
- 79 **W:** (/Gaan/ with) Guywa?
- 80 **Eu:** (Let it be with) Guywa.
- 81 **W:** How we doin that? Two or one? It's one we got to do first.
- 82 **Eu:** Why you can't do all two one time?
- 83 **W:** Think you can do it? If you think you could manage it?
- 84 **S:** Uh-uh.
- 85 **W:** (xxxx). Now [what ((Rep)) was saying] earlier is that we finish off with this here
- 86 **Eu:** [You gotta (x x x x x)]
- 87 **W:** and then we er..when we finish we go then to the way forward. Unless we could  
 88 do all two one time, way forward (and everything).  
 89 (4s)  
 90 Well let us see how we feel..let us give it a try if we could er do all two at one time.  
 91 (2s) ((muted muttering))  
 92 Not possible.
- 93 **?:** °(xxxx)°
- 94 **W:** One you dealing with Guywa and next thing you dealing with the British High  
 95 Commission.  
 96 (5s) ((muttered interchange between ?Eu and ?S.))  
 97 So, what..  
 98 (5s) ((muttering continues))  
 99 Now how does this fit with the problems, goals, and all the other areas of natural  
 100 resource, socioeconomic issues or interests to do other activities? How would  
 101 this..when we're going about doing this, how would it affect (xx), how would it  
 102 affect all of these thing here= =logging, fishing, ecotourism or...agriculture. Garbage

- 103 disposal, education, sustenance et cetera.
- 104 **Eu:** (xx pick up xxx see what copying, na?)
- 105 **W:** Uh?
- 106 **Eu:** I don't think I actually get the idea here.
- 107 **S:** It's right behind them. °°(xxx)°° Uhm...
- 108 (3s)
- 109 **Eu:** Right, now I can see them.
- 110 **S:** °Okay.°
- 111 (4s)
- 112 Remember this wasn't numbered like that, right? It just went down the..the ↓list.
- 113 (9s)
- 114 **Eu:** So uh..how does this fit in with the problems?
- 115 **W:** Wanna get fixed current wells for easier and safer use by children and others.
- 116 (3s)
- 117 We do the same thing with this one (here)?
- 118 **Eu:** (??This what we don't understand.)
- 119 <<rustling of papers >>
- 120 (12s)
- 121 ((mumbling)) (61s)

### *Description.*

William begins his presentation by summing up the nature of the management plan and emphasising the importance of this to the village (28-38). He also suggests that this is not just a "dry run", but an opportunity to discuss pressing problems (31-34). Once he has allowed this to sink in (39) he contextualises it with respect to earlier work (40-43), with S's encouragement (44), and goes on to illustrate the aims of the workshop to link the cause, effect and repercussions of individual activities throughout the village ecology. This is done with particular reference to the subject in question, drinking water (45-57). After early disfluencies such as restarts (32,33&37), pauses and fillers (32-38), this develops into a long and coherent stretch of discourse with the one significant silence (39) apparently part of its design in that it allows time for consideration and potential feedback and provokes no signs of disfluency in William when he next speaks.

After going over the method, W attempts to get the process underway (58-66), once again emphasising the importance of Toka doing this for themselves (66-71). However, there is no definite response for 39s (76) and W narrows the topic of water to the specific question of the reservoir (77). Eu responds, introducing new considerations regarding

the role of the Guyanese Water Authority (Guywa) in the process (78-82). **W** suggests this is a separate issue (81) which might make the process too complicated for the participants (83) and **S** backs up this assessment (84). However, **W** seems willing to give it a try (85-91) until he thinks through the practicalities and rejects the idea (92-98). **W** then returns to his earlier topic of water and the reservoir and relates the issue to the wider system, in line with the aims of the workshop (99-103). Again he is interrupted by **Eu** (104-118), who asks for clarification of what is being discussed, particularly in relation to the integrated approach of the workshop. **S** twice intervenes (107&110-112) to explain how the process works with respect to the written list (112). At this point (117-121) **W** begins to lose his earlier control of the situation, as we see in the following section.

### *Interpretation.*

Not surprisingly **W** takes up his combined role as facilitator/evaluator a little warily (28-38), but is soon into his stride, and his understanding and description of the systemic nature of the process behind the management plan, particularly lines 40-43, 45-56 and 99-103, are accurate, clear and concise. William shows skill here in glossing the concept of integrated management behind the workshop (45-46) in terms of the particulars of everyday Makushi life, drawing connections between the expansion of the creek and animal and human welfare (46-51) and suggesting that the sand removed might be put to use elsewhere (51-53). Clearly the thinking behind the process presents no difficulties to **W**; however, the process in practice is not so straightforward. Despite **W**'s first successful attempt to override **Eu**'s objections, taking advantage of the symbolic authority in his role as facilitator, **Eu** again queries the nature of the process and **S** intervenes to clarify matters this time. There is a situation developing where **W** is being forced to justify the process, as opposed to content, against **Eu**'s objections. This is hampering his presentation of the work in hand and drawing **S** into the role of final arbiter, as becomes clearer in the following sections.

## IV. William's growing unease.

- 122 **W:** Right.  
 123 (3s)  
 124 Remember (?how it is) that the longest we chose this one here..and er..before we go  
 125 into this we said this was much easier using this method here. After we use  
 126 this..generally a..(thirteen..thirteen) a..method..method (x) we come up with this  
 127 here. And what we doin now is..we we said could tackle these two= =we do these  
 128 two at one time..using the same thing.  
 129 (6s)  
 130 So how would this... I think we should take one of them °here and leave this one.°
- 131 **?Eu:** °(xxx).°
- 132 **W:** How you think this would now..affect or how good this would be like? Would  
 133 it be the same thing for this (a) fixed current well for easiest and safe use by children  
 134 and others?  
 135 (3s)
- 136 **S?:** °°(either way)°°
- 137 **W:** It would be much easier if we have this..er..you= =the well down there with a  
 138 nice..reservoir at that point. You have the pipes going all around and..so forth.  
 139 ((muttering)) (6s)
- 140 **Eu:** If you get this, the fish would take advantage of the situation and break free.  
 141 And it would meet...what would be the expectations of government, which is to bring  
 142 what more water we can into close reach of...within..close proximity of members of  
 143 the community.  
 144 (11s)
- 145 **W:** Rainwater fresh at the ho:me. Is that what we saying?
- 146 **S:** °(xxx ?tea.....)°.
- 147 **W:** Uh?
- 148 **S:** °°(xx)°°
- 149 **W:** Remember we talk about this here, right? Yesterday, the tank and the pipes  
 150 going down and then getting taps going into every house..er..probably we get er  
 151 showers and..flush toilets and so forth. Right?  
 152 ((mumbling and rustling of papers)) (14s)  
 153 The second phase here..(the goal)..for poor people, water, using reservoirs..over  
 154 current..potable water.....potable water....this reservoir, over current well.  
 155 (8s)  
 156 (xxx), when you get a big help (motor transport) and...all the rest...
- 157 **S:** (william, you) managing okay? (xxx)



### *Description.*

In this section **W** is less fluent than previously, with no extended stretches of speech, while what he does say is more hesitant and less clear in aim, displaying numerous pauses and fillers (124-128,137,138&150-156) and repetitions and restarts (126,127,130,137&153-156). He begins with a justification of the process in terms of previous discussions with the floor (124-128), which he then relates to the immediate topic, and invites the floor to contribute their opinions (132-134), reiterating the need to tackle one aspect at a time (130). After a short pause with no response from the floor (135), **S** begins to offer what would appear to be an evaluation of the options marked by “either way” (136), but **W** overrides **S** in a further attempt to open up the floor, expanding on his previous explanation of the options (137-138). This provokes a general reaction (139) and **Eu** then gives his (in parts enigmatic) response to the proposal (140-143). However, the floor once again fails to take up the points made (144&155), although **W** repeatedly attempts to draw them in (145-156). In his efforts to open up discussion at this point **W** summarises and clarifies **Eu**’s previous comments (glossing “water” with “rainwater” and adding that it will be “fresh”), seeks confirmation that this is what the floor seeks, and alludes to the joint construction of the discourse by floor and facilitators, through “Is that what we saying?” (145). He also calls on the floor to consider previous joint discussions on the topic (149) and twice actively solicits contributions with RIGHT? (149&151). Finally, he lists several potential areas of discussion (153-156). Despite these efforts, and what sound like attempts by **S** to lighten the situation (146&148), the presentation begins to lose coherence and **W**’s input becomes increasingly disjointed (149-151,153-154&156), with comparatively long pauses (139,144&155) and mumbling from the floor (152). The increasing disfluency prompts overt concern from **S** with “William, you feeling okay?” (157), a comment which mirrors the earlier comment preceding **W**’s participation:

16.     **S:**       Right, William, you in shape for this?

### *Interpretation.*

We see in this section the disruption in the flow of the discourse that begins the process whereby **S** takes over the proceedings from **W**, who is clearly uncomfortable in his

assumed classroom-style role standing in front of the other participants as the focal centre of the process. The previous section finished with **Eu** challenging the process for a second time (104-118) and **W**, having survived an earlier intervention (78-86), again feels obliged to defend the process, which, as he has stated, he sees as tremendously important for the village, and to draw the rest of the community into it. Despite **Eu**'s contribution, however, the floor fails to respond. Breaks open up in the discourse which would not seem overlong or intrusive in a situation where the facilitator's presentation is confident and no-one doubts their control over the situation, yet in this case they prove difficult and as no contributions seem to be forthcoming the floor, three times **S** feels the need to relieve the tension in the situation (136, 146-148&157), the last of these marking an attitude of overt concern for **W** on the part of **S** and setting the tone for the following section.

#### IV. *S's concern for W.*

- 157 **S:** (William, you) managing okay? xxxxx?)  
 158 (18s)  
 159 \*(xxxx). \* It's extra.
- 160 **Eu:** (xxxxxxx) in that situation [it (magnifies the situation)]
- 161 **S:** [Okay, we can do the first one]..(in a minute)...And  
 162 then you can [(see that)]
- 163 **Eu:** [(The thing with Guywa is)] Guywa adjust the whole situation, you  
 164 know?  
 165 (48s) ((a little background muttering))
- 166 **S:** A'right...What is it?...No, Vanessa, you're not off the hook. Come back.  
 167 (9s)
- 168 **W:** We're talking about >the current fix..well..there<=
- 169 **Eu:** =This thing got more detail (now there than then).
- 170 **S:** Do you want to erm...to come closer together and just sit among yourselves and  
 171 do your own writing? In that small group rather than using this classroom style?  
 172 (5s)  
 173 William? You're not feeling so good, huh? CAN SOMEBODY...? Do you, do you  
 174 want to sit and [rest and] have somebody [else to do this?]
- 175 **W:** [D'you want something?]
- 176 **Eu:** [(That'll do nicely.)]
- 177 **W:** You want to say something?  
 178 (7s)
- 179 **S:** All right, if everybody sit together, William's not feeling so well. If we sit  
 180 together maybe it would make it easier. °Rather than standing up in front of  
 181 everybody.°  
 182 ((quiet exchange, S and ?W)) (14s)

### *Description.*

In this section **S** expresses overt concern for **W** (157) and attempts to rearrange the format (161) and setting (166,170-171,173-174&179-181) to make life easier for him. Although this intervention is framed in terms of **W**'s plight (157), **W** has neither overtly expressed his ill ease nor suggested a change in format. **W** does not respond to **S**'s question and the following section shows how he attempts to carry on with his presentation without any of the suggested changes. In fact, there seem to be two separate discourses running in parallel here, for as **W** and **Eu** attempt to discuss the *issues* surrounding the water supply (168) and the role of Guywa (163), **S** is realising an independent series of speech acts centred on the mechanisms of the workshop as a process and the discourse as *performance*. As a result, this section displays far more interruptions (169) and overlaps (161,163,175&176) than previous sections.

### *Interpretation.*

In this section **S**'s concerned intervention highlights Iwokrama's symbolic power with regard to the process and emphasises the fact that **W**'s temporary role as facilitator is dependent upon his longer-term role as Beneficiary. This relationship was clear in the setting up of the exercise and has been latent throughout the discourse thus far (or expressed through tokens of encouragement such as "okay", which, although unintrusive, point to a role as "evaluator"). **S** has in fact been initiating a parallel discourse to **W** in every aspect of register: interrupting and speaking over **W** in terms of tenor (157, 161&174); moving **W**'s decontextualised Recount and Generalisation (149-156) towards the more immediate modes of Commentary (157,166&170-174) and Action (161-162&179-181); and ignoring the topic under discussion to focus on **W**'s health (157,173-174&179-181) and the workshop as process (161-162,166&170-171). The process reaches its culmination in lines 179-181. Here **S** takes it upon herself to speak on **W**'s behalf and so confirm the process by which **W** becomes increasingly marginal to proceedings and **S** regains control over the discourse, first guiding the process more overtly (Section VI) and then resuming complete control (section VII).

*VI. S guides the process*

- 183 **W:** Okay, the goal for the short term, why don't we say it is that er the potable water  
 184 using the reservoir over current well will bring water right to your home.  
 185 (4s)
- 186 **Eu:** It would make water more accessible (then)..°(in the community).° With easy  
 187 access.  
 188 (4s)
- 189 **W:** Lighter work for the women?
- 190 **S:** Wh..where are you? Number two? What was..where are we? Positive-negative?  
 191 (8s)
- 192 **W:** °See, that could be the first.°  
 193 ((faint background discussion)) (4s)  
 194 °We get number three (xxxxx). Probably getting a...°
- 195 **S:** °Which (xx) you want to do?° So...how does it work, (what are its goals)?
- 196 **W:** Try and look at the positive and negative of er..of the water down here now.  
 197 Now, wha..what we've taken about positive is the good things that this will do, and  
 198 the negative is the bad things..will happen, like. Uhm, if there is [any]
- 199 **Eu:** [They've] done  
 200 number one, whole. I wanna know what that thing mean: "potable water using  
 201 reservoir over current well".
- 202 **S:** How would you like to say it? ((slightly irritated))
- 203 **Eu:** No, I wanna know what it means.
- 204 **S:** Say what you want to say and I'll write it down. ((irritated))  
 205 (4s)
- 206 **Eu:** Does it mean..to be getting (brought here)?
- 207 **S:** Okay..let..tell me what to [write.]
- 208 **Eu:** [(that's what)]...(that's what I was going to say now, we  
 209 an't) set up a dam. It would make the water more..near a point where you could  
 210 access it more easily, <and that would meet the requirement of the  
 211 community>...when it comes to accessing the water...So that's (all).  
 212 (7s)

**Description.**

Here, despite S's concerned attempts to change the format, above, W returns to the immediate topic and again attempts to draw in the floor by summarising the discussion so far and throwing it open to question (183-184). This leads to comments from Eu (186-187), which, after a short silence (188) W again glosses and seeks to confirm through his rising intonation (189). However, S interrupts and again attempts to focus on the workshop as a process (190). This time W picks up on S's lead into matters of process (192-194). However, W shows hesitancy (193) and uncertainty (194) and S interrupts

again, forcing the pace by defining the questions to be tackled at this point and relating them to the process framework (as defined by **S**) (195). **W** responds to the task, also providing a clear gloss on “positive” and “negative” (196-198), but **Eu** interrupts and again questions an aspect of work “already covered” (199-201). This draws an irritated response from **S** (202), who has taken over Vanessa’s writing-up role and who instead of answering **Eu**’s request for clarification, asks **Eu** to clarify things himself. There are two more such exchanges (203-204&206-207) before **Eu** responds to his own request for clarification (208-211). This section again displays a high frequency of interruptions (190&195) and overlaps (199&208) as interpersonal roles are reorganised and subject matter is negotiated.

### *Interpretation.*

Here we see that once **S** has reentered the process as an active participant, initially through genuine and justifiable concern over the material setting and **W**’s discomfort, this display of ultimate authority over the proceedings shifts control over the discourse away from **W** as temporary facilitator and back to **S**, despite a burgeoning dialogue between **W** and **Eu** (183-189). This is apparent here in two ways. Firstly, **W** cedes to **S**’s reflexive discourse on the process itself, something he avoided in the previous stretch of discourse (196). Secondly, once **S** has succeeded in focusing attention on the workshop as process, she immediately moves beyond questions of the material setting to redefine the register of the development discussion itself. She does this in terms of field, by changing the topic (195); tenor, by reversing the exchange structure (202); and mode, by emphasising the role of the written medium (204-207). Once back in control, **S** attempts to force the pace of the discourse as process, and seems impatient with **Eu**’s backtracking. **S**’s requests that **Eu** rephrase what is being entered on the flipchart might represent a genuine attempt to keep the discourse on local terms, yet the two direct imperatives (204&207) show who is ultimately in charge of the process.

This section contains a series of interventions from **S** aimed at keeping the workshop as a process ‘on course’ and these interventions, along with **S**’s earlier attempts to rearrange the physical format of the workshop (166-181), highlight what appears to be a



fundamental disagreement between the Iwokrama representatives and local participants as to whether the workshop is a practical exercise intended to discuss pertinent issues with a view to resolving them or simply the presentation of a working model that draws on local issues as exemplars of problems in the development process but which is not concerned with resolving them during the workshop itself. This difference in perspectives would seem to imbue the remainder of the text as **S** repeatedly attempts to steer the workshop as a process along a preordained path while the local representatives seem anxious to resolve practical issues as they arise, an interpretation that resonates with the descriptions in Chapter 2 of how a community preference for practice over theory is an underlying theme to the whole Discourse of Development.

From here on in **W**'s contributions come as if from the floor rather than as facilitator, a role now entirely played by **S**.

*VII. S takes over process, reformulating work done by W in Stage III.*

- 213 **S:** Okay, so..so the activity ..is..to do what? >To get a reservoir..set up..in the  
 214 village?< Right? That's the activity?
- 215 **Eu?:** Yeah.
- 216 **S:** °Right.° And then..how does that fit with....with all these other things in terms of  
 217 of agricultu:re, health, and all of those..is the next thing you're talking about. Makes  
 218 it more accessible, makes it easier...maybe healthier, those kind of stuff, right?  
 219 So..so, let's just back up. So, you wanna ↑do ...↓three.  
 220 (15s)  
 221 And remember this from yesterday..the various points we've built, right?  
 222 (5s)  
 223 Right? And re..re...and so..that's one, it is "How does it ↑fit with other things in the  
 224 village?", and you're saying it makes it more accessible an' easier. So...  
 225 (6s)  
 226 Any other...things [to go with]
- 227 **Eu:** [Safer], it was safer.
- 228 **S:** Sa:fer. ((writing it down?))
- 229 **W:** °(xxx) safer (xxx).°
- 230 **S:** (xxx).  
 231 (9s)
- 232 **S:** Because drinking water is such a straightforward thing, these two collapse into  
 233 one basically. I mean 'cause it's not like you're talking about lo:gging or..or cutting  
 234 down trees to do agriculture, right? So 1 and 2 would..
- 235 **Eu:** Less time taken to..t=for your water.

- 236 S: °°Yeah. 1 and 2.°° Less time taken to acquire (our) water. So, less labour,  
237 right?
- 238 ?:: ((grunt of assent))  
239 (14s)
- 240 S: Mm-hmm. Anything else?  
241 (6s)
- 242 W: Encourage agr..kitchen gardens.
- 243 S: Encourage agriculture, right?  
244 (20s)  
245 °Anything else?°
- 246 W: Is it okay that hoping they erm..a flush toilet system (xxxxx)?
- 247 S: In the future?
- 248 W: °Mm-hmm.°
- 249 S: But that's not meant to be activity right now? (Eh,) the activity right  
250 now is to find somebody to fund...the reservoir. .and the pipes..to certain points,  
251 right? So, potential future...so that's potential.
- 252 Eu: I think maybe we should put that part.  
253 ((W and Eu mutter a while)) (12s)
- 254 S: We have..you talked about this yesterday, activity (xx). How it's going to each  
255 ↑home and..and..
- 256 Eu: We could have taken it from under..easier access, °(xxx)°.  
257 (12s)
- 258 S: (What about other) sanitation, William? Flush toilet system, (?sanitary towel)  
259 system. (This is to put under) positive=
- 260 Eu: =We don't see water in the home as something that should be automatic.  
261 ((mumbling from floor)) (16s)
- 262 S: They would get what?  
263 ((further mumbling, with Eu's voice suddenly becoming singled out.)) (6s)
- 264 Eu: ...not a necessity, you could collect (more than) water from outside). I mean,  
265 which can happen,
- 266 S: [Could everyone]
- 267 W: [When we] talked about the flush toilet, it was the..around the nearby  
268 well..(xxxxx). Nearby homes to the wells, because of er..(away then from) the shit-  
269 juice bringing into the wells and the water stream.
- 270 S: Right. So it links (xxxx). Sanitation, right?
- 271 W: Right.
- 272 S: We also talked yesterday about ecotourist things..having better water supply. So  
273 that if we collapse...in here we could do one and two together, kind of collapse it  
274 in..okay? So...  
275 ((mumbling leading to laughing, especially from Eu)) (23s)

### Description.

In this section S reintroduces the activity in hand (213-214), relates it to work done earlier in the workshop (221) and emphasises the importance of the process and the

systemic linkages within the local ecology (216-217&223-225), thereby duplicating **W**'s earlier efforts. **S** encourages participation from the floor in choosing the topic of discussion (219 & 226) and allows time for responses to be forthcoming (220,222,225&231), with **Eu** (227) and **W** (229) duly obliging. Then **S** returns to the process itself, suggesting ways of saving time by condensing tasks (232-234). **Eu**'s utterance (235) might be a response to this, saying that the suggestion will leave less time for water, but is taken as input to the debate on water itself, which is thus reintroduced (236-237). **S** again solicits responses from the floor, on any aspect of the process, with "anything else?"(240&245), and allows the time necessary for this (239,241&244). This pays off with two contributions from **W** (242&246). **W**'s "Is it okay...?" (246) demonstrates how far he has formally ceded control to **S**, who then goes on to reorientate the activity according to the prescribed process - as **S** sees it (249-251). This causes a reaction from both **W** and **Eu** (252-253) and **S** seems to return to the topic in hand (254-255), with **Eu** contributing this time (256). After a further pause (257), this time with no response forthcoming, **S** introduces the topic of sanitation (258-259), which encourages participation from **W** and **Eu** and discussion on the floor (260-269). **S** sums this up (270) and extends the topic into new areas, again suggesting condensing topics (272-274). The section ends with discussion on the floor turning into a joke (275) (about ecotourists and "shit-juice", no doubt). This section shows a decrease in the rate of interruptions and overlaps, and though these still occur (227,235,256,260&267) they tend to display a continuity of discourse as opposed to the oppositional nature of the interruptions and overlaps in the previous two sections. In line 227 **Eu** is supplying an answer that predicts the full form of **S**'s question in line 226, with **S** echoing and writing up the answer provided. In line 235 **Eu** similarly seems to be predicting a point **S** is making, and **S**'s positive evaluation, echo and development support this interpretation. Similarly, this section is marked by the repeated use of discourse markers aimed at the cooperative flow of discourse such as **RIGHT?** to elicit evaluation (214, 218, 221, 237&270); rising intonation calling for clarification or confirmation of specific points (214, 247&262); **ANYTHING ELSE?** to elicit further contributions (240&245); a polar question (246); and a wh-question (262).

*Interpretation.*

This section works successfully in terms of facilitator-floor interaction, with **S** encouraging participation. However, this success is achieved at a cost, as it is clearly now **S** that is in control of the situation again. **W** accepts and seems more comfortable with this state of affairs, acting as a member of the floor in a similar role to that of **Eu**. In fact, William explained to me later (in conversation, Toka, 9/11/00) that he had been aware that Simone was taking over but that he was caught between facilitating and contributing from the floor and, feeling that the format did not allow him to combine these roles, he was not too unhappy at Simone resuming the facilitator role. The idea that the workshop format creates a sharper divide between floor and chair than local formats will be taken up in later chapters.

The break with **W**'s performance is emphasised by **S** reintroducing the activity from scratch and going over some of the work earlier done by **W** during his confident presentation; that is, the notion of linkages in the management plan and the relevance of previous work. This could lead to the impression that **W**'s contribution was either a trial run or a misfire and that now the real thing is getting under way emphasising both **S**'s role as evaluator and her symbolic capital.

Again emphasis is laid on the process at the expense of content, with **S** attempting to condense separate issues and to reorientate the discussion towards funding after **W** has introduced the topics of agriculture and flush toilets: "But that's not meant to be the activity right now?". This emphasis would appear to go counter to attempts by **W** and **Eu** throughout to use the workshop as a forum for solving actual problems and not just as a trial run (*cf.* 31-34 above). In fact, I have observed on several occasions that the local style is to devote great amounts of time to resolving questions from the floor even when these are not directly related to the ongoing flow of discourse. Control of the topic is also an issue when **S** introduces sanitation (258), which is later treated as if it arose spontaneously from the floor (270), and more importantly when **S** twice makes the unilateral decision that some topics are simpler/less important than others and can therefore be condensed. These are an imposition of outside presuppositions.

This section is very important in that it shows a successful period of dialogue, as demonstrated by the relative fluency of the exchanges, but it also highlights that *within the NGO-based workshop format* this is achieved only through the outside-facilitator/local-floor opposition that this whole exercise was supposed to break down. S's retaking of the floor and leading of the discussion are no doubt appropriate personal reactions to the breakdown of W's presentation and are the natural resources of workshop facilitators in the NGO format, aimed at maintaining the pace of the discourse and adhering to preset goals and schedules. But they are not conducive of the type of two-way participation Iwokrama is seeking and do not appear to be appropriate for skills-transfer to the local community. This is particularly unfortunate bearing in mind W's high hopes for this process and the relevance he has attached to it in terms of the community's capacities and associated prestige.

### 6.3.2 Explanation of Text 6.1 in the wider social context.

While the above text may genuinely represent an attempted shift in development discourse practices from paternalism to transformative empowerment, the emphasis on process over content and the banking method of skills transfer implicit in the workshop format means that ultimate control over the discourse still lies with Iwokrama as the dominant group and that at any time, even without intending to, overt control may revert to them. Such a shift is facilitated by the symbolic capital of Iwokrama in general, but is enhanced in institutional contexts that not only distance the field of context from the indigenous field of socialisation but bring with them generic participant roles that more easily accommodate imported than indigenous expertise and authority. In such contexts any interruption from the external authority might be interpreted by local participants as reclaiming control.

In the particular instance of Text 6.1 the different emphasis placed on process or practice by the local communities and by Simone as the Iwokrama representative creates an underlying tension that on occasions surfaces in seemingly separate discourses, as in Section V. Reinterpreting at a lower level of discourse Martin's (1992:581-582) notion that a critical *issue* is needed for tensions to create a rupture in existing patterns, the



critical issue in Text 6.1 would appear to be William's failure to maintain the pace of the discourse as process and the possibility that he might be feeling unwell.

The different emphasis on process and practice from the development community on one side and the Makushi on the other relates to wider social issues and the conditions under which each side participates in the NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse. As suggested by Graham, above, local participants are only secondarily worried about issues such as the sustainability of the environment after more immediate concerns such as feeding their family. For such participants practice is clearly going to be more important than process. On the other hand, development agencies are themselves the objects of stronger structural forces, coming under great pressure from their funding bodies to produce quantifiable results at a steady rate if they wish to secure future funding (Chambers 1997:66). This can result in an emphasis on getting through one process and on to the next, an approach which at times rides roughshod over more qualitative targets and means of evaluation. A very concrete example of this within wider development practice is the building of wells where meeting or surpassing a target is taken as the only measure of success and considerations of whether the wells are appropriately situated or even functioning at all can be left behind<sup>2</sup>. In terms of discourse, Iwokrama is at times guilty at the micro-level of overloading presentations with information (Bartlett 2002) and at the macro-level of moving ahead with projects before they are properly understood by local participants (see Chapter 7). Apart from fostering misunderstanding, the emphasis on external processes places Iwokrama in the position of experts and local communities as trainees, a situation that is both reinforced by existing disequilibria in symbolic capital and contributes to reproducing these.

#### **6.4 Textual analysis: Turning the immediate.**

In the following analyses I compare and contrast the power relations institutionalised within the workshop format, as illustrated in Text 6.1, with the discourse strategies employed by experienced Amerindian speakers, including a more experienced William, within the setting of the bimonthly NRDDDB Meeting. These texts go some way to demonstrating that, under specific circumstances, the structural asymmetries of power in

some institutional genres are not without tension. These tensions are then discussed with respect to the model of language developed above and their potential for empowerment.

The first analyses focus on and around the performance of William and demonstrate how he came to develop an intercultural style as Chairman which combined an existing competence as a speaker from the floor with a confidence and skill from the chair in controlling and adapting the flow of information and activity. As stated above, it was William's desire to combine these two roles that caused him problems in the workshop analysed in Text 6.1 as he wanted to facilitate and be on the floor at the same time. As the format did not allow for such a role, he was happy for Simone to take over the facilitation role while he turned back to speaking from the floor. This transition was noted in the analysis above, while the discourse strategies William employs in the following texts demonstrate the extent to which he has developed a means of integrating the two speaking positions.

#### 6.4.1 Description and interpretation of Texts 6.2 to 6.6.

The following text was recorded a couple of months after Text 6.1, this time at an NRDDDB Meeting in the Bina Hill Institute, an impressive two-storey building constructed by the community for use as a resource centre, to house the local Radio Paiwomak, and as a home for the NRDDDB. NRDDDB Meetings stretch over two days and bring together representatives from all thirteen communities of the North Rupununi, from Iwokrama and other development organisations, and from the Government. Meetings are normally attended by between thirty to forty people. Present at the meeting from which the following text was taken were the Minister for Amerindian Affairs and representatives of UNDP. This analysis shows William as a confident speaker from the floor and demonstrates how, in this capacity, he is already using some of the same rhetorical techniques as the then-Chairman Sydney, who at the time was by far the more experienced in dealing with national and international bodies. The following analysis focuses on the strategies employed by William and Sydney in making indirect yet extremely forceful requests.

Text 6.2. Tape 11b. NRDDDB Meeting, Bina Hill Institute, 7/7/00.

*((William has been talking about the complications that the road from Brazil will cause.))*

1 **WA:** ...and time and again you hear the Chairman saying, like, "If we don't use the road,  
2 the road will use us." So, probably, with the assistance of the programme manager for  
3 the UNDP probably we could put something paper and I could send it, I don't know how  
4 the Minister would erm look into this, the Amerindian Act is so vague, and there isn't  
5 anything that we could be... rely upon in the Amerindian Act, but I know that there is  
6 some er provision where we can make, subsidiary legislation, but...

*((William tells an anecdote about the difficulties of removing a birdtrapper from the road  
and suggests setting up a committee to protect Amerindian rights.))*

7 So my kind of proposition is that we sit down and draft a proposal as to how the  
8 committee can function. I know that erm...Dr Gary Hunisett had proposed some brilliant  
9 ideas, and I like the idea about Mekdeci also, if we could have more of those erm  
10 activities within the area, where we can work in partnership with these NGOs, it would  
11 be quite erm much more safer. But Gary was saying that have traditional fishing and  
12 hunting areas been declared, although it would be out of community boundaries, and  
13 ...probably, with the approval of the Minister, if we can do that, just have the traditional  
14 erm hunting and fishing areas, also logging areas, to be declared as Amerindian uhm  
15 fishing, hunting areas, just for that purpose, in case these uhm outsiders would come in  
16 and exploit everything and leave us bare. Thank you.

*((Sydney responds, winding up his contribution as follows))*

17 **S:** ...So we need to think about these things and I'm quite certain Minister is  
18 going to..not sleep on it, but think of it, and, probably, with some more ideas coming -  
19 feed it back to Minister, I'm quite certain he would be happy to have like erm suggestions  
20 coming from all of us. You can never tell what will come of all this. So we need to look  
21 at it. And that is what...that is what we need to look at in the fight against poverty - and  
22 not against poverty alone, but against other things. Probably that might be the next erm  
23 project UNDP could help us with. Fight against intruders.

### *Description.*

In the two stretches of text from William there is a movement in the ideational content from stating an existing problem to proposing a possible solution. The first stretch leads from the threat of the new road (1-2) to the possibility of drafting new legislation (2-6); while the second moves from limitations to committee authority (7-11) to the better demarcation of traditional lands (11-16). In both cases the solution is presented: (i) as hypothetical, through "probably" (2,3&13), "could" (3, twice), and a conditional clause (3); and (ii) as contingent on outside help, expressed through nominalisations as in "with the assistance of the programme manager for the UNDP" (2-3) and "with the approval of the Minister" (13) and through the projected clause "I don't know how the Minister

would<sup>3</sup> erm look into this” (3-4). Given the repeated structure [problem^possible solution^contingency] and the presence as interlocutors of those able to fulfil the contingent element, this last element can be read as an implicit request each time. The first request is rounded off with a reassurance that the problem can be solved (5-6), while the second, conversely, emphasises the consequences of inaction (15-16).

### *Interpretation.*

Rather than formally request help, William as good as presupposes the contribution of influential participants at the meeting, the Minister for Amerindian Affairs and UNDP representatives, through nominalisations and through a projection of how, rather than if, this help will be forthcoming. As both the Minister and UNDP were at the meeting and would have to respond to William’s contribution these strategies set up a subject position which they must in some way fill and the onus is very much on them to explain any discrepancies between their own proposed course of action and William’s suggestions. Given this level of imposition and the status of his intended interlocutors, William uses hedges to tone down his statements. PROBABLY, for example, is used three times (2, 3 & 13) to frame the pseudo-requests, a strategy reinforced through the use of “I don’t know” (3) and modality expressing hypotheticality (3 twice), the lack of obstacle (10), or conditionality (9, 12 & 13)

However, William subverts the impact of the hedges and ensures that the pressure is still on the Minister to provide with his “but I know that there is some er provision that we can make” (5&6). This might also be the case with his use of PROBABLY rather than the less assuming POSSIBLY as a hedge, but repeated use by both speakers leads me to believe its use to frame pseudo-requests is less marked than it would be in standard British English.

The strategies used by William from the floor are almost exactly mirrored by Sydney from the Chair, who produces two strong presuppositions of assistance through “I’m quite certain” (twice in 17-19). And although this, as in William’s contribution, is respectfully hedged with PROBABLY (18&22) and modalised clauses expressing conditionality (19), uncertainty (22) and hypotheticality (23), their concessive force is



quite undermined by Sydney's extremely negative construal of any alternative action in "I'm quite certain the Minister is going to...not sleep on it" (17-18).

In these instances both William and Sydney put pressure on the outside agents to take particular courses of action through a presupposition of their help, while the consequences of inaction are clear: Sydney (23) talks of the fight against "intruders", while William (15-16) more dramatically claims that "outsiders would come in and exploit everything and leave us bare" (15-16). These presumptive strategies are attempts to force the hand of the Minister and the UNDP representatives later in the discourse, as not to deal explicitly with the topics proposed would at best need explanation and at worst be construed as "sleeping on it". In this way both William and Sydney exploit the power that they hold within the community in general and in the NRDDDB in particular (note that William refers to Sydney as the Chairman in line 1) to coopt the efforts of those who hold power at a higher level, while acknowledging this external power through the extreme hedging of these assumptions. In this regard, the invisible institutional structures that disempowered William at the Management Planning Workshop would seem to have their empowering counterparts within the institutional structures of the NRDDDB.

*Text 6.3. Tape 22. NRDDDB Meeting, 4/11/2000. Institute.*

By the time of the following extract, William (WA) has become Chairman and Sydney (SA) is speaking from the floor. The extract is interesting in that William and Sydney conegotiate a position that is contrary to that of Simone (SM) as Iwokrama speaker. The analysis looks at how control over the final position is reached, firstly through a look at the discourse tactics, and secondly by relating these to the interpersonal histories of the speakers and their respective holds on symbolic power and to the constraints of the institutional setting. The discourse up to this point has dealt with a document jointly prepared by representatives of the NRDDDB and Iwokrama which was due to be discussed by the entire Board at this point. However, as not all those present have read it and there are considerable doubts as to the level of understanding from the community participants, the participants are discussing the best way to proceed with the discussion. SUAs are



Sustainable Utilisation Areas, parts of the Iwokrama Forest where non-timber products will be exploited for commercial use.

- 1 **SM:** This document is given to the representatives to ask you if we are  
2 understanding you correctly. Our purpose in this meeting is to ask the NRDDDB if you  
3 agree to us meeting with those representatives in between the SUA meetings. So it is  
4 clearly up to you, the NRDDDB, to decide for (xx), to decide what (xxxxxxx). We don't  
5 have to stick with it, (the idea is complex, it's xxx). So it's up to you to decide what  
6 time you want to give.
- 7 **WA:** Uhm, what I was doing in my report... earlier, I... did you notice I just gave you  
8 the main points? And that is more or less what is on the agenda... I did not go into  
9 detail because I thought you would pick it up, this here. So that is why I didn't go into  
10 what is goal number one, what is goal number two, three, four, five and so on, what  
11 are the key environmental aims and what is the key (element) of the environmental  
12 aims. I didn't go into that, thinking that it would have been, erm, would be picked up  
13 in this piece of document. That is why I kind of changed my reporting... that is not the  
14 way I planned to report, but I did it so... so that we could go into this through this  
15 piece of document here. I don't know wh..what..what course we would take now, if  
16 we could (reverse our xx scheme)?
- 17 **SM:** If I may make a suggestion, maybe it would (fall into our xx), maybe what I  
18 could do, if you would agree to it, is... is go through this, we wrote this, so we know  
19 what we're talking about, and it's... if the language is not appropriate, so maybe if I  
20 were to go through the points quickly, maybe in a more basic way, if you still want to  
21 use the document as a basis, and then we say what was meant... what we interpret  
22 what's meant (xxx) instead of us reading (?aloud) the whole document. Would that  
23 work?
- 24 **WA:** You see, the idea of where we wanted to discuss this is so that the kind of  
25 information that we would need from this thing (that was here) and the thing that  
26 was...that I am referring to, this is what we want to disseminate this information, the  
27 management planning team, so that you could go out back to your communities and  
28 at least have an idea of what... we're talking about, one, one i, and one, two i, and so  
29 forth. You would be able to explain to the community that this is what we are saying  
30 and so forth. (It's not very clear). Yes, I would be happy if Simone  
31 would go through it, if you agree.
- 32 **SA:** So, I don't want to continue with=it sounds terrible but..I, my thought was  
33 (xxxxxx) and by now, if we had gone through this thing page by page, saying that this  
34 is the general idea of what took place... our participation was so forth, this is what we  
35 did and so forth, and erm the stories were (confirmed) your contribution, I thought it  
36 would have set the floor for participation, you know, for you now to "Oh, now I  
37 understand," because I realise that some persons have not read this document as yet,  
38 since yesterday afternoon till now. So, er, that is... how (I've been looking at) this  
39 thing. It, it's a beginning for us, at the first we took some time before we took office  
40 and we had like people in the know and that is something new. So, it's something new  
41 here for us, so all, probably, (if there's any yet to say) "Yes, well, the people should  
42 go out there more and give us, er, regular feedback in whatever form, because then  
43 you would know well, How? Why? How do I begin, why should I support...?" And  
44 that is what I was just asking about from the beginning. I realise that to get the (x) of  
45 what's reporting... erm... in some cases it was (xx) repetition, so you have this sort of  
46 °(xx), happen (xxx).°
- 47 **RVD:** I don't know what your agenda is but...maybe... it give time to read it  
48 and discuss it later on in the day, 'cause it doesn't make sense, I think, to discuss a  
49 complex document like this, and people don't, haven't read it, you know? I don't  
50 know if you have time in the afternoon, if you give people an hour during the day  
51 between lunch, to quickly go through it, split into groups and everybody, you know,

- 52       erm, discuss one point rather than discussing all the points together, maybe one  
 53       group will specialise on one point, something like that - how many points here?  
 54       Seven? So if you split into seven groups and each group takes one point, rather than  
 55       focusing on the whole document, we let them go for an hour, come back to report, or  
 56       at least ask questions, I don't know.
- 57   **SA:**   I think everybody needs to know what this whole thing is about, if you pick  
 58       up like maybe individual things, you still would be at a loss because, "What is it really  
 59       talking about?" (Everybody's like they leave something) at home, you know. So I  
 60       was, if you get the general picture, "That is actually a picture, okay," well after that  
 61       mm ↑you could...
- 62   **WA:**   All right, erm, as I said, I gave this out since yesterday and (you had till) nine  
 63       o'clock this morning (so could you not) take a couple of minutes at breakfast and if  
 64       you were really serious about it, I think you should have gone through it, maybe this  
 65       morning, and pick it up and start to read it through. (Maybe) some of it was, I didn't  
 66       know that this, like I said earlier, was that this was just our contribution and not the  
 67       entire report of yesterday evening meeting. So...you know, I have a system of if  
 68       people don't read...read it...at home, well then we read it together. I would...if you  
 69       want we to do that...so that though we wouldn't read it here, I don't think it would  
 70       when you return, that you would read it either. So, if this is erm on the agenda for  
 71       discussion we should go ahead discussing and reading it and probably find  
 72       (such) find you have explanation and would say...if you are willing to say, "Well,  
 73       Chairman, I don't understand what is written," and perhaps ((Iwokrama  
 74       representative)) could break it down in detail. Then how does that...
- 75   **UF:**   Mister Chairman, I would like to make some comments.

### *Description.*

We join the discussion as Simone, having questioned the level of understanding of the document and its purpose (1-3) explicitly ( "it's up to you" in lines 3-4 & 1.5) and emphatically ("clearly" in line 4) cedes authority to the Board to decide how the discussion should proceed.

However, William (7-16) does not follow up this course of action, but chooses instead to justify his earlier report on the meeting in which the document was produced. His report was not "in detail" as he assumed the document would be discussed at the present meeting (8-15). As a result, William is not sure how to remedy the situation (15) and leaves the question hanging (16). At this point Simone makes an attempt to direct the process (17-23), though her extremely hedged contribution reemphasises that the final decision is still the Board's. These seven lines open with an extremely polite request expressed as a modalised conditional ("if I may" in line 17), and proceeds with four MAYBES (17 twice, 19&20), five hypothetical modals (17, 18 twice, 20&22) and two explicit concessions to the will of the Board ("if you would agree" in line 18 and "if you

still want” in line 20). However, in contrast with the hedges is the bald “we wrote this, so we know what we’re talking about” (18&19).

William continues to mull over the problem, reiterating the intentions behind his proposed discussion (24-30), but he is eventually “happy” (30) to allow Simone to resolve the problem, if the Board agree (31). At this point Sydney intervenes. After apologising in advance for changing the tack of the discussion again (32), he puts forward his own proposal that the document is discussed “page by page” (33), in direct contrast with Simone’s suggestion not to discuss the “whole document” (22) but to “go through points quickly” and in a “more basic way” (20). Sydney formally diminishes the strength of his suggestion as just thoughts (32&35), but by couching them in a mixture of hypotheticals (“if we had” in line 33, “it would have set the floor” in lines 35-36) and concretes (“our participation was...” etc. in lines 34-35) he creates a somewhat ambiguous air. Sydney then justifies his suggestion on the grounds that some have not read the document despite repeated calls for feedback (41-43), employing imaginary direct quotes to capture the voices of the local community (36-37&41-43).

The contribution from René (**RVD**), a UNDP representative (47-56), is an attempt at a compromise, suggesting that the whole document is discussed in detail, but with different groups discussing each section and then coming together. Sydney counters this suggestion on the grounds that everyone needs to know the whole document (57), with his contribution again framed as a thought (57).

William has now overcome his doubts and sets out to give his verdict on the situation, signalling that a decision has been made after considering the options (through his opening “all right” of line 62) and punctuating his conclusions with the authoritative SO (67, 69&70). William summarises the situation in terms that echo Sydney in implicitly criticising community representatives (62-65), while continuing to justify his own approach of earlier (65-67), and he ultimately decides on the course of action proposed by Sydney, while also requesting that Iwokrama could help in interpreting matters (73-74).

### *Interpretation.*

In this extract we see a slight tussle between the different symbolic powers of Iwokrama's imported knowledge and the moral authority of the community elders, a tussle which lies at the heart of the Discourse of Development and the need to maintain a indigenous cultural dynamic while adapting to the necessities and benefits of modernity (and this point will be developed in later chapters).

A striking example of this comes with Simone's bald assertion that "we wrote this, so we know what we're talking about" (18-19). This claim to authority through knowledge from Simone is an explicit reference to the particular form of symbolic capital they hold in relation to the local communities and suggests that the extensive facework (17-18) framing the proposed change in format was in deference to interpersonal conventions of politeness that acknowledge the symbolic capital of the moral authority held by William as Chairman within the local context of the NRDDB.

In contrast to Simone's claims to knowledge, when Sydney presents his counter-argument to Iwokrama's proposal he formally diminishes the strength of his suggestion as just thoughts (32&35). However, as Sydney knows, his own symbolic capital as community elder imbues his thoughts with great prestige locally. While his strong expression of reluctance to contradict ("it sounds terrible, but..." in line 32) and use of hypotheticals ("if we had" in line 33, "it would have set the floor" in lines 35-36) might downplay the force of his suggestions per se, his use of concrete illustrations ("our participation was...", "this is what we did" and "the stories were confirmed" in lines 34-35), as opposed to Iwokrama's suggestion that they "interpret" events (21), seems designed to appeal to the community's preference for practice over theory. In fact, Sydney then explicitly emphasises his advantage over Simone as a spokesperson for the community through the use of imaginary direct speech with a generalised community voice vindicating his approach (36-37). This show of solidarity with the community then serves as a means of introducing an air of criticism into the proceedings, with Sydney explicitly pointing out that some of the participants have not read the document yet (37-38). In this way Sydney draws on a different form of symbolic capital to Iwokrama's knowledge/power: the moral authority of the community elder. As an outsider, Simone



has to display extreme courtesy, while Sydney is free to criticise and to lay blame as a fellow member of the community in solidarity with those he criticises - a solidarity he implicitly draws attention to in his use of imaginary direct quotes to capture the voices of the local community (36-37&41-43).

Sydney's second contribution repeats this general strategy, with his contribution again framed as merely a thought (57), but with the repercussions of alternatives expressed as imaginary direct speech, again drawing on Sydney's solidarity with the community and his ability to put their thoughts into words (60).

William's summing up also contains overt criticisms of local participants (62-65), and his final judgment makes overt claims to moral rather than intellectual authority through "I have a system" (68) and the unmitigated 'if not x, then y' formula (67-68) used to present the decision. Again similarly to Sydney, William draws on community voices to justify his authority (72-73), but makes a concession to Iwokrama's alternative symbolic capital, as represented by their knowledge (73-74), in asking them to break down and sum up the document. Text 6.3 thus shows that William is coming to terms with juggling the various manifestations of power within NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse. Whereas tensions between the two forms of authority go some way towards explaining his self-confessed difficulty in simultaneously playing facilitator and community elder in the earlier Workshop, by the time of Texts 6.2 and 6.3 we see a more comfortable William, buoyed up by the experience and skills of Sydney and able to draw on his locally-based moral authority at the same time as leading an imported institutional process such as the NRDDDB. The following extracts, from over a year later, further demonstrate William's growth into this role.

*Text 6.4. Tape 37. NRDDDB Meeting. Yakarinta. 18/1/02.*

This extract once again exemplifies the tactic of presupposing cooperation as employed by William from the floor and echoed by Sydney from the chair in Text 6.2. Text 6.4, from an NRDDDB meeting several months later, shows the tactic again being employed by William, but this time as the Chair, and how devastating a tactic it can be. Text 6.4 is from the first day of the two-day meeting, and this day is usually given over to NRDDDB's



non-Iwokrama business. While Iwokrama by and large take the Chair for the second day of NRDDDB Meetings, they only participate on the first day if they are invited. However, as Dr Kathryn Monk, who has been the Director General of Iwokrama for six months, has undertaken the difficult journey from Georgetown<sup>4</sup> to attend the meeting, William introduces her in his opening speech:

- 1 **WA:** Anyway, once again, as I mentioned to you earlier, that we have here with us none  
 2 other than the Director General herself, who we'll be seeing attending more meetings  
 3 more regularly since she has taken up the position of Director General for Iwokrama  
 4 International Centre, who is no other than Mr ((sic)) Kathryn Monk, Dr Kathryn Monk.

*Description and interpretation.*

Despite his use of the formal acknowledgments of Kathryn's academic qualifications ("Dr" in line 4) and institutional status (Director General in line 3) and the general sign of respect "no other than" (4), discussed above, William draws on his current institutional authority as Chair of the NRDDDB to impose upon her a subject position of his own design, committing her fairly strongly to future attendance both through his use of WILL (2) for confident prediction and the double use of MORE (2&3). William's comments will also most likely be taken as a thinly veiled criticism given the juxtaposition of Kathryn's responsibilities as Director General and the implicit conclusion that more and more in the future implies not enough in the past. The implication is not lost on Kathryn, and its effect on her remains until she is called on to speak some minutes later:

- 5 **WA:** We'll now want to have some brief presentations made by... to be made by the  
 6 various persons I mentioned just now. And we start off with the new Director General.
- 7 **KM:** Thank you very much. ((3s)) I did go to the Board meeting in June, when I was  
 8 almost literally just arrived, and, erm, since then, I'm afraid that I've said "Yes, I'll come  
 9 to each one", your timing and my timing didn't work, but you know, I'm er really  
 10 pleased that I was able to come to this one, and particularly it gave me the chance to  
 11 come to another village, because I did say when I arrived, and I did mean it, that I  
 12 wanted to come to every community and see where you lived and the types  
 13 and... situations you were facing and the problems and so on. And erm although I've  
 14 been down to the Rupununi and to the Field Station several times over the six months  
 15 that now I've been in office erm, I haven't got to erm many villages I'm afraid, as I  
 16 expected. Erm...but I have er spent a little bit more time here than just coming in and  
 17 coming to these meetings and saying these few words and whizzing off again, because I  
 18 was able to come down over the New Year and I stayed over in Rock View, erm, and  
 19 sampled a little bit of er how it felt to be in the Savannah in that I helped them round up  
 20 their cattle, 'cause I'm a horse rider. So, I'm starting to get a feel er of a little bit of what

21 it's like to live on the Savannah, and erm certainly erm I have been to a few of the  
 22 villages and you don't know I've been, 'cause I've gone through, when you've all been  
 23 busy. ((2.5s)) Erm, what I'm hoping, if I can, is that the representatives of the board...  
 24 ((KM continues))

### *Description.*

Kathryn begins positively by contradicting the gist of William's implicit criticism, using the full mood form "did go" (7) to counterbalance William's negative interpretation while stressing that her actions went beyond reasonable expectations (7-8). She immediately follows this approach with an apology introduced by "I'm afraid" (8), followed by a justification of her failure (9) and an expression of willingness to rectify things (9-11). Kathryn again uses full modality (11) both to stress that her original plan was to come to the Rupununi (11-13) and in her expression of sincerity "I did mean it" (11). Lines 13-16, however, include a concessive clause (13) and another apologetic "I'm afraid" (15). The following move introduces a counter-concession through BUT (16), a justification for this move (17-20), introduced by BECAUSE, and a conclusion introduced by SO (20-23) that seems to be intended as a direct rebuttal to the implied criticism with which William introduced her.

### *Interpretation.*

William's tactic has Kathryn falling over herself apologising for not having been to the Board before and promising to come in the future, with her turn above having the following extremely elaborate argument structure: [contradiction^amplification^apology^justification^positive evaluation^justification^expression of sincerity^concession^counter-concession^justification^conclusion]

William is able to do this as the NRDDDB has been fashioned into a forum that reflects and responds to local power and ideologies as much as to those of the international development community so that the balance of power has been shifting slowly but steadily away from Iwokrama domination towards a more complex distribution of power. William's community-based power is enhanced at this point as Iwokrama holds no official sway over the first day of meetings while Kathryn's role as Director General means that she is not entitled to the full courtesies accorded to invited guest.

The redistribution of power within NRDDDB Meetings is both the result of enhanced performances from key participants such as William and the cause of these, as the generation of a third space creates an appropriate context for the qualitative and quantitative level of participation that further perturbs the meaning potential of the institutional context in favour of inclusivity. At the particular point in time of Text 6.4, the ongoing shift towards local modes of power can be accelerated while Kathryn, as new Director General operating in unknown territory, struggles to assert herself. In Martin's (1992:581-582) terms Kathryn's arrival would be seen as a "critical issue", while for Lemke (1995:128) the situation would present "critical branch points" presenting "bifurcation possibilities" for the recoupling of processes and practices and the opening up of alternative routes to development.

The following extracts from the same meeting illustrate that William is now perfectly capable of using the authority of the chair to rein in the old Iwokrama hands as well as the new, displaying a level of control that was entirely missing from his role as facilitator at the workshop and that he achieved only with difficulty and support in the discussion of the SUA document.

*Text 6.5. Tape 40. NRDDDB Meeting. Yakarinta. 19/1/02.*

Text 6.5 comes from the second day of the January NRDDDB Meeting in Yakarinta, commonly called Iwokrama Day. Iwokrama representatives are therefore in positions of greater authority on this day. At this point in the meeting Eugene is speaking about the CEW programme and Sydney is waiting to respond when Vanda, an Iwokrama representative, interrupts from the back of the floor:

- 1 **VR:** Erm, is there a (xx) in the SUA=
- 2 **WA:** =I would like=
- 3 **VR:** =I mean this=
- 4 **WA:** ((quietly)) Miss Vanda, can we have, erm, Mr Allicock... first?
- 5 (2s)
- 6 **SA:** Yes, thank-you, sir!
- 7 ((Sydney speaks for 2m 10s))
- 8 That is what I would like to see happening here. (xx). Thank-you.

- 9 (2s)  
 10 **WA:** Going to say something, Vanda?  
 11 **VR:** Yes, Chairman, just to respond to er Mr Eugene's comment...

### *Description.*

The text begins with Vanda interrupting (1), as all Iwokrama representatives are prone to do. William steps in and refuses to allow Vanda to speak at will (4), prefacing her name with "Miss," an action that not only softens the blow of his interrupting her to stop her speaking, but also relates this act to the institutional constraints of the Board Meeting, as does his reference to Sydney as Mr Allicock (4) ( *cf.* Uncle Fred's use of Mr Chairman to Sydney discussed above). Sydney responds humorously with the excessively subordinate "Thank you sir!" (6). Sydney then speaks uninterrupted for over two minutes, after which William uses his role as Chair to select Vanda as next speaker, addressing her by first name only. Vanda takes up the offer to speak, addressing William with his official title of Chairman and referring to Eugene as "Mr Eugene".

### *Interpretation.*

In preventing Vanda from interrupting, William is asserting the institutional authority of the Board at this point over Vanda's power as an important member of Iwokrama and his double use of titles to refer to people who are both close friends (4) serves as a contextualisation cue that this particular set of power relations is presently in play. Sydney, renowned for mixing business with laughter, recognises the dynamics at play and is able to make light of the situation by severely playing down his own power, related as it is to William's and in opposition to Vanda's at this point (6). When Sydney has finished, William recognises Vanda's right to speak and reaffirms his solidarity and friendship by using her first name only (10). When Vanda responds by referring to William by his official title and to Eugene as "Mr Eugene" (11), she is not shunning this peace token, but acknowledging her position as under the authority of the NRDDB as an institution at this point and hence implicitly accepting blame for her initial interruption.

While both parties come out of this simple exchange well, it is most clearly an example of William's growing ease in the chair and the automatic authority that this position confers upon him. It is instances such as this that over time gave me the impression, stated above, that the NRDDDB was growing in autonomy and losing its reliance on the reflected symbolic power of Iwokrama.

William's alternating reference here to Vanda in formal and informal terms could be seen as a sign that he has come to terms with his previous difficulty in reconciling the formality of his role as facilitator with the community-based prestige he was able to deploy from the floor. This new-found ability is very clear in the following text, recorded on the same day.

*Text 6.6. Tape 39b. NRDDDB. Yakarinta. 19/1/02.*

William is setting the agenda for the day, writing it up on the blackboard as he does so, but there is some confusion as to who is ready to speak and whether the appropriate representatives are present to hear different reports.

- 1 **WA:** So we call on Dr Graham to come up.
- 2 **Gr:** Just..quick...just ask Rodney to give his report? (Xxx) doing most of the
- 3 surveys and managing most of the surveys so...so, I would suggest that they
- 4 [xx].
- 5 **WA:** [I thought] you would have erm =
- 6 **Gr:** =Just rub it out=
- 7 **WA:** =walked with<sup>5</sup> the WP/SUA thing.
- 8 **Gr:** That's separate from fisheries..report=
- 9 **WA:** =That's why I call you for the [(xxx)]
- 10 **Gr:** [The Audubon] not (xx).
- 11 (3s)
- 12 **VR:** We have CEW reports first or Graham first?
- 13 **WA:** No, CEW reports we're taking after lunch.
- 14 (4s)
- 15 **VR:** I was just saying that Sydney wanted Minister's representative to be here for the
- 16 Touchaus' report and so on...If you wanted to erm, anyway, I think that's okay=
- 17 **WA:** =So you're saying we would would – we could take the Touchau report
- 18 [after lunch?]
- 19 **VR:** [The CEW] reports..while the Minister (xxxx) here, maybe the CEWs could
- 20 report and finish with that (xx). The (MRU's getting) ready.



- 21 **WA:** Ah (4s) yeah but CEWs... maybe we could ah..take the CEWs' [report...]  
 22 **VR:** [We finish] with that.  
 23 (7s)  
 24 **WA:** Okay, Dr Graham, you could er get more prepared. We will take the CEWs on  
 25 the floor. (2.5s) CEWs, please be brief in your reporting. We know that you  
 26 attended NRDDDB last meeting and thi:s and tha:.. Also what you would say, we  
 27 know about it. What we want to know is, like, what new things have been taking  
 28 place in communities that we are not aware of. So, we don't want to know  
 29 that... we don't want you to come up here, "CEW report, erm, year 2001, period of  
 30 so, so, so. We attended NRDDDB meeting, we this, we this, we went"; no, we  
 31 want to know after you attended the NRDDDB meeting you went into community  
 32 meetings, what was the response of the people, did you..er..how successful you  
 33 were at these meetings, and what new agenda you have all taken on board. And  
 34 that shouldn't be a whole paper that is put out. Those reporting format is more or  
 35 less to, kinda, say that you were working for Iwokrama. (2s). Okay?  
 36 ((William continues.))

### *Description.*

Text 6.6 shows William continually challenged with regard to his proposed timetabling for the NRDDDB meeting. These challenges come from two senior Iwokrama figures in Graham (2-4,6,8&10) and Vanda (12,15-17,19-20&22) and in the form of interruptions and overlaps. William accepts the change in plan and addresses Graham with the formal title of "doctor" (24) and this formality extends through the request/directive "you could get prepared" (24) and into his opening request to the CEWs "please be brief in your reporting" (25). However, in his following instructions to the CEWs (24-35) William shifts from formal, institutionalised language to adopt a far more familiar tone, marked phonetically through "thi:s and tha:.." (26), lexically through "like" (27) and "kinda" (35) and pragmatically through the use of imaginary reported speech (29-30) and reformulation in simpler terms (32-33).

### *Interpretation.*

This extract shows William coping with complications to his proposed timetabling and his successful management of Graham and Vanda's interruptions in rearranging the timetable as a joint effort. While this time William eventually goes along with their suggestion (24), what is of more interest is the way in which William is able not only to take this alteration to plans in his stride but the way he is able to draw it into his own way

of doing things in a contribution (24-35) that mixes his institutional voice as chairman and his community voice as elder.

The casual and extended vowels of “thi:s and tha:.” (26) at the beginning of this turn not only mark a change in formality but are iconic of the excessive length of some of the CEWs’ reporting styles, an aspect that William is about to criticise. William further mimics the formulaic reporting style of many CEWs’ with his “We attended NRDDDB meeting, we this, we this, we went”, (30) but the familiarity of the closing lines and the hedging of “kinda” reassert the solidarity William is expressing with the CEWs through the use of his “community voice”.

What is clever about William’s contribution here is that he is challenging the norms of the institution at the interpersonal and the ideational level simultaneously. The interpersonal switches between institutional and community voice are fairly explicit, but William’s instructions to the CEWs also contain an implicit challenge to the concept of Iwokrama’s authority. As was stated earlier, control over the CEWs is a moot point between NRDDDB and Iwokrama, corresponding to their role as go-betweens for community custom and imported science. William’s redirection of their reporting can thus be seen as a move to shift this aspect of the institution further to the community side, a point he almost makes explicit, but not quite, in his dismissal of the existing reporting format as “more or less to, kinda, say that you were working for Iwokrama”.

In summary, this extract shows William successfully blending his role as chair of the NRDDDB as an institution with his role as a member of the North Rupununi as a community, a synthesis which, by his own admission, William failed to achieve as facilitator within the institutional setting of the Management Planning Workshop.

## **6.5 Conclusion: Explanation of Texts 6.1 to 6.6 in the wider social context.**

The aim of the thesis is to identify consistent and systemic differences within and between texts that can be interpreted as demonstrating tensions in discursive practice as it relates on the one hand to the paternalistic ideology of the Government and some

development agencies and formulated in the Amerindian Act, and on the other hand to the more participatory approach outlined in Chapters 2 and 3 and formulated to a great extent in the NRDDDB Constitution. Table 6.1 lists by metafunction the salient lexicogrammatical features as analysed within the various texts in this chapter, contrasting Text 6.1 from the Iwokrama-led Management Planning Workshop with Texts 6.2 to 6.6 from community-led NRDDDB Meetings.

	Text 6.1	Texts 6.2 to 6.6
<b>Lead Speakers and Institutional Context:</b>	<i>primarily external: S as ultimate facilitator and evaluator at Iwokrama-led workshop; W as temporary facilitator and trainee;.</i>	<i>primarily internal: William and Sydney as Chair at NRDDDB Meetings; Iwokrama representatives speaking from floor.</i>
<i>ideational metafunction</i>	<b>W</b> focusing on issues, <b>S</b> focusing on process; <b>S</b> 's questioning of <b>W</b> 's ability; <b>W</b> forced to justify process to <b>Eu</b> ; <b>S</b> questions ongoing process; conflict between practical and theoretical matters.	problems^proposed future action^external assistance needed; nominalisations and projections to presuppose help; THINK to project suggestions.
<i>interpersonal metafunction</i>	use of first names throughout; direct commands; overlaps and interruptions turning to elicitations from <b>S</b> once in control; <b>W</b> largely fails to elicit responses from floor; <b>W</b> contributes from floor; <b>I</b> speaks for <b>W</b> ; knowledge is power.	use of names and titles as contextualisation cues for different power-solidarity axes; extreme hedging of presuppositions, bold requests and strongly negative comments; indirect requests through presuppositions; use of imaginary community voice to criticise, mock and show solidarity; moral authority is primary power, knowledge is secondary power.
<i>textual metafunction</i>	Actions and Commentaries from <b>S</b> and Commentaries from <b>Eu</b> overriding <b>W</b> 's Recounts and Generalisations.	(Various - See Chapter 7)

*Table 6.1. Summary of salient lexicogrammatical features as analysed in Texts 6.1 to 6.6.*

Text 6.1 is taken from an institutional format highly representative of the international development organisations, the Workshop, while Texts 6.2 to 6.6 are from an institution specifically developed to integrate the knowledge systems of these organisations into the indigenous cultural system, the NRDDDB. The problem, evident in Text 6.1, seems to be that in the process of appropriating this knowledge, NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse fora are forced to adopt other aspects of the ideological system behind these organisations which are not appropriate to the collaborative ethos the two groups espouse. One aspect of

development culture, or the Discourse of Development, that seems to have far-reaching effects on discourse patterns in development practice is the need of its centralised supranational governing bodies for immediate, tangible and standardised feedback. Chambers, a long-time development worker, describes it thus (1997:53):

Standardisation simplifies [central] supervision, monitoring and evaluation. It is more straightforward to inspect, count, measure, estimate and evaluate one type than many, whether it is seeds distributed, trees planted, bunds constructed, pumps installed or clinics built. Reports can more readily be put together; standardisation makes comparisons easier between the performance of different provinces, districts and other administrative areas.

Unfortunately, these 'advantages' also extend to the passing on of information, and the organisations funding the Iwokrama Programme need quantified feedback in order to monitor, evaluate and justify their expenditure in specifically social development programmes just as much as for theoretically more material programmes such as dam-building, well-digging and tree-planting. This places even the most well-intentioned development workers such as those at Iwokrama in the predicament of having to quantify the work they undertake for the sake of the project and their jobs. As a result there is a tendency *in some cases* for expertise and knowledge to be seen in terms of discrete units that can be transmitted rather than as aspects of a wider system that need to be absorbed gradually by the local communities into their own cultural dynamics. This would especially appear to be the case for events such as the Management Planning Workshop for three specific reasons: (i) the fact that the knowledge and expertise to be 'transmitted' is very much a part of the development system and can be readily labelled and identified for purposes of monitoring and evaluation; (ii) the limited amount of time scheduled for the Workshop; and (iii) the fact that the Workshop is to be replicated in other villages and with similar time limits.

The pressures from the above factors on Iwokrama to 'produce the goods' all sway the workshop format towards a banking mode of instruction whereby knowledge is objectified, compartmentalised and quantified and can be 'ticked' as having been passed from those that know to those who did not, when in fact it has been no more than presented. These factors can go some way towards explaining the differences in



lexicogrammatical features between the Workshop format and the NRDDDB Meetings as identified throughout this chapter.

The limited time allocated to the Workshop, the need for the process to be completed, and the implicit conception of knowledge as compartmentalised that this entails means that control of the pace and direction of the Workshop remains firmly in the hands of the trainers. Similarly, known theoretical concerns will be dealt with in preference to the exploration of new possibilities and practical discussions of immediate problems. This would explain Simone's emphasis on Actions and Commentaries as opposed to William's use of Recounts and Generalisations in Text 6.1. It would also account for number of the interruptions and overlaps from all three of these participants whenever there is a conflict over the direction of the developing discussion, in contrast with the smoother elicitation-response format when Simone is back in control. Ultimately, the design of the Workshop and the conception behind it mean that theory will override praxis and that Iwokrama's knowledge is translated into power while William's locally-based authority will only keep him in his temporary role as facilitator as long as the schedule is maintained.

In contrast to the more or less unitary manifestation of power in the Workshop, one of the more striking features revealed by the analysis of texts 6.2 to 6.6 is that the control of discourse from William and Sydney is not merely a reassertion of community-based power but rather a manipulation of the complementary powers within the NRDDDB and Iwokrama. This juggling of power relations can help explain many of the lexicogrammatical features identified as salient in these texts. Primarily, it would account for what appears to be a consistent use of names and titles as contextualisation cues to indicate whether the discourse is oriented to the institutional power of Iwokrama, based largely on knowledge, or the community-based power of the Board, based on a moral authority that is necessarily underpinned by solidarity - an authority that gives the Chair the right to criticise and mock, as long as solidarity is emphasised in the process (see Table 6.1).

The tactical use of presuppositions can also be explained in terms of the complementarity of power in NRDDDB Meetings as the strategy relies on the moral authority of the NRDDDB in making the presuppositions while the content of these presuppositions relates to the



practical application of outside knowledge/power in development issues identified by the community - the very purpose for which the NRDDDB was set up. In these terms it is very hard for the agencies involved to challenge their cooptation either discursively or morally, despite the verbal deference to their power through William and Sydney's hedging strategies.

However, the ability to transfer power into practice is dependent not just on the bearer but also on the context. This means that William is unable to assert his moral authority as facilitator in the alien institutional context that is a Workshop, though he regains some of this power even in this setting as he returns to the floor and his role of community spokesperson. Conversely, the physical and ideological space of the Bina Hill Institute and NRDDDB Meetings reconfirms William's community-based moral authority while enabling him to use this authority to draw on other manifestations of power as embodied in the Government, Iwokrama and UNDP.

In terms of the model of language and power developed in Chapter 3, William's enhanced performance can be seen not only as a cause of more collaborative participation within NRDDDB meetings, through his expansion of the meaning potential within them, but also as the result of earlier shifts in the institutional context away from the domination of international development norms and towards the more collaborative NRDDDB model. The following chapter explores other means by which the meaning potential within the NRDDDB is opened up for local participation, focusing particularly on a striking contribution from Uncle Fred which draws on the power of community authority and knowledge on the one hand and the power of imported knowledge on the other.

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<sup>1</sup> And at the time of writing once again the Touchau.

<sup>2</sup> This has been the case with several such projects in Guyana, particularly where the wells are in the interior but both the coordinating group and the construction company are based on the coast.

<sup>3</sup> WOULD is commonly used for future arrangements in Standard Guyanese English, carrying similar weight to Standard British English WILL, as in "The church fete would be held on Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> May", where the only condition attached appears to be *deo volente*.

<sup>4</sup> The journey to Bina Hill Institute involves a two-hour plane journey. The additional journey necessary to Yakarinta for this NRDDDB Meeting comprised a five-mile jeep ride, a river crossing and a mile's trek on foot.

<sup>5</sup> In Guyana WALK WITH is used to mean BRING WITH YOU.

## **Chapter Seven. Textual Analysis: Genre and the Context of Institution.**

### **7.1 Introduction.**

Chapter 6 finished by highlighting two specific points regarding the nature of discourse in the NRDDDB: the relationship between the institutional context and the potential for producing a third-space discourse; and the different forms of power that such a space contains and that can be interwoven in discourse. This chapter focuses on how the meaning potential within the institutional context of the NRDDDB can be opened up (i.e. the range of possible responses to context is increased) so as to encourage participation from a wider range of local participants. It also considers the importance of different modes of power within this process. The texts analysed both come from the NRDDDB Meeting of 4/11/2000 at the Bina Hill Institute and are explanations to the local participants of Iwokrama's zoning programme. This is the process by which the Iwokrama Forest is to be divided into Sustainable Utilisation Areas (SUAs), where the sustainable commercial exploitation of non-timber products is encouraged as a means of conserving the biodiversity of the area, and Wilderness Preserves (WPs), where no such activity will be allowed. These texts have been chosen for the specific reason that continued efforts had previously been made to explain the zoning process to the communities which were openly acknowledged as being unsuccessful. In Text 7.1, therefore, Simone attempts to explain the process once again, but after her contribution William, as Chairman of the NRDDDB, suggested that she had not been understood and he and several other participants attempted to gloss the contribution. However, these attempts are also unsuccessful and it is not until Uncle Fred's contribution in Text 7.2 that the process was considered by William and others to have been adequately explained. A few days later William related these unsuccessful explanations to the wider problem of Iwokrama moving ahead with their programme at the potential cost of building on sand (Tape 24, Toka, 8/11/00):

*I would say that in the inception of the workshop they hadn't understand exactly what it was all about... so, like Simone and the other speaker were just building up from that, you*

*know, keep building up. So if you don't understand anything at the bottom, you wouldn't be able to get what is going on at the top.*

In contrast, William had this to say after Uncle Fred's contribution:

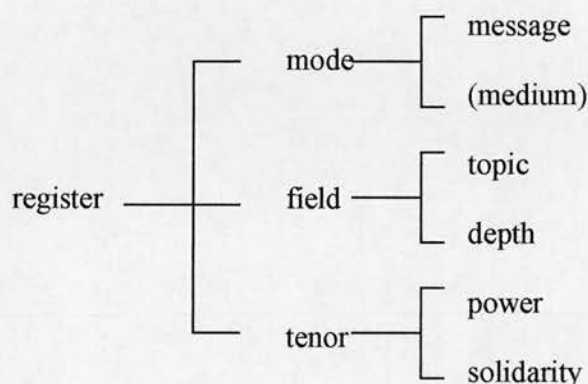
*Anyway, thanks to Mr Fred, and these are the kind of resource person that Iwokrama should be looking in future to contact to do kind of workshops, conduct workshops on these... on whatever they would want to, what it's, what it is to do with communities. Because, like, Simone said it over and over, and we ain't understand what is said. And old Fred come and... about half an hour, I believe most of us understand what she had talk about since the zoning workshop and other meetings we've had, and you've got an idea of what it is.*

In considering why Uncle Fred's contribution was more readily understood, then, the analysis of these two texts draws on the dual aspect of 'understanding' as comprehension of the lexicogrammar and empathy with the subject matter and looks at the relative coherence and relevance to the audience of the two speakers' texts respectively. The analysis also considers how the texts manifest the different forms of power within the NRDDB and Iwokrama and discusses the relevance of these in relating concepts such as the SUA to community members. The methods employed are therefore:

- (i) a consideration of the technical level of language used and the complexity of clause structure as features of the immediate grammar affecting comprehension;
- (ii) an analysis of the extent to which the two explanations relate to community life in terms of their ideational focus and the relation of text to context as features of immanent grammar fostering empathy;
- (iii) an analysis of the use of interpersonal features in cuing different power relations within the NRDDB.

These features relate to the three metafunctions that at text level define the register of discourse and as such they represent the linguistic component of the institutional context at any one time and are crucial in defining the breadth of meaning potential open to other speakers. Following Figure 7.1, the analyses consider the three metafunctional aspects of register in turn to look at: mode, in terms of message type and the Rhetorical Units (RUS) employed (the linguistic medium will be ignored, as both are impromptu spoken texts);

field, in terms of the topics covered and the level of specialisation of the language used; and tenor, in terms the of relations of power and solidarity as established through language. These three strands are then brought together and interrelated in an analysis of the generic structure of the two contributions.



*Figure 7.1 Categorisation and subcategorisation of register*

## **7.2 Methods of analysis.**

In this section I shall briefly analyse the texts in terms of the complexity of their clause structure before moving on to focus on the variables of register they display. Structural complexity is measured in terms of the two speakers' comparative tendencies to combine clauses through conjunction and embedding (Halliday 1994) rather than through a progression of independent sentences. 'Sentence' is here defined as a potentially self-standing unit of meaning marked as bound together in itself and bound off from other units through the speaker's use of intonation.

Turning to register, I shall look first at mode in terms of how Uncle Fred and Simone use speech as behaviour at two levels: (i) the relationship of text to context, the clause as *message*; and (ii) speaking as a means of socialisation (Cloran 1999:46). The text as message is divided into *rhetorical units* (RUs) that "construe...the role of language in the social process, conceptualised as a continuum at one end of which language is ancillary to the task in hand and at the other, language constitutes the activity" (Cloran

2000:174&176). Rhetorical Units, then, are concerned with the level of contextualisation of discourse. For example, stretches of discourse demanding goods and services, whether directly or indirectly, are labelled Action RUs, and stretches of discourse describing contemporaneous events within the immediate setting are labelled Commentaries. With these two RUs discourse is considered highly contextualised, or even as ancillary to the activity in hand, as text and action combine to realise the action. RUs such as Conjectures or Generalisations, in contrast, come closer to constituting self-contained events, largely divorced from the non-verbal activity of context, while Reflections on participants' routines come somewhere between the two in that they refer to events that are relevant to immediate participants but which are removed in time from the setting (see Appendix 2 for a complete table of Cloran's [2000:175] categories and her continuum of contextualisation). The patterning of RUs within Texts 7.1 and 7.2, therefore, can be used as a measure of the extent to which their respective messages are either contextualised or decontextualised. Contextualised discourse is generally considered easier to interpret (Celce-Murcia and Olshtain 2000:168) while the combination of contextualised language with familiar topics within the field of discourse can be expected to provoke understanding in terms of empathy.

Socialisation context refers to the role a stretch of discourse is expected to play in socialising participants<sup>1</sup> into a particular ideological system in terms of: interpersonal relations, through the interpersonal or phatic context (marked up as i/p.); skills and knowledge, through the instructional context (instr.); or morality and behaviour, through the regulatory context (regul.). The imaginative context (Cloran 1999:50) encourages experiment and the recreation of the world in your own terms. It does not appear in these texts. The socialisation context may be *visible* or *invisible* depending on the congruence between the socialisation context and the RU that realises it, or its *strength of framing* (Cloran 1999:57-60). For example, regulation through Action RUs is clearly visible, as in Example 7.1, whereas regulation through Generalisations is largely invisible, as with the implied imperative in Example 7.2 (both examples are from Cloran 1999:59):

7.1 *Don't talk with food in you mouth, all right?*

7.2 *It's hard talking to you when you've got your mouth full, isn't it? It's a bit rough, I think.*



Texts 7.1 and 7.2 are marked up for message type (RU) in the left-hand margin and socialisation context on the right. RUs and Socialisation Contexts are not necessarily discrete but can be embedded, that is when changes in type are seen not as changes in the purpose of the discourse but as parenthetical contributions to this. Thus in Text 7.1 below Simone's Conjecture/Plan in lines 16 to 28 is seen as contributing towards the Account of lines 5 to 38 rather than changing the orientation of the text as message away from it. Multiple embeddings are possible. In the texts below different levels of RU embedding are shown by different types of bracketing: {xxx} for first-level embedding; (xxx) for second level embedding; [xxx] for third-level embedding; and \*xxx\* for fourth-level embedding. The extent of embedded Socialisation Contexts is signalled by an arrow in square brackets:



In terms of the field of discourse, the analysis focuses on the respective semantic mappings developed by and within Texts 7.1 and 7.2 with respect to construals of the zoning process. For the representation of semantic development I have followed Martin's (1992 Chapter 5) approach of plotting *taxonomic chains* that trace reference to (aspects of) the same entity throughout a text and that label the sense relations of each reference to the last (see Appendix 5). This is not as objective as it sounds, as the sense relations developed in real-time texts are temporary constructs of the speaker and hearer, rather than externally defined aspects of the language system (see also Brazil 1995:34-36). I develop Martin's one-directional process-based representation of taxonomic chains into two-dimensional product-based semantic networks in Figures 7.2 and 7.3. The familiarity of the audience with the field of discourse and its relevance to their daily lives will clearly be a factor in establishing their empathy towards the discourse.

In terms of the tenor of discourse, the use of personal pronouns to unite and divide participants and outside actors will be considered alongside the use of mood and modality as demonstrating orientations to solidarity and power (see also Fairclough 1989 *passim*). The analysis of Texts 7.1 and 7.2 demonstrate how the tenor and field of discourse combine to manifest different modes of power. Moral authority, for example, can be instantiated through a combination of [+power] modality, [-solidarity] pronominal use

and a [+solidarity] field of discourse, i.e. topics closely related to community life. This concept is explored further in section 7.3.5 below.

Relevant features of field, tenor and mode will then be brought together to represent the generic structure of each text as a progression of *phases*, “those stretches of discourse in which there is a significant measure of consistency and congruity in what is being selected from the three metafunctional resources of the language” (Gregory 1988:318). In these terms a significant shift in any of the three metafunctions of register leads a text into a different phase with a different goal. The generic structure of the text is thus, drawing on Gregory (1988), Martin (1992:502-503) and Brazil (1995:47-51), considered as the goal-oriented progression of phases from an Initial State to a Target State.

The lexicogrammatical features and generic structures of Texts 7.1 and 7.2 can then be compared in terms of: (i) the relations between semantic networks, contextualisation, visibility, power-type and goal, and (ii) the interrelation between these features and notions of comprehension and empathy leading to a meaning potential that makes possible a collaborative dialogue of the third-space.

### **7.3 Textual analysis: Bringing the context closer to home.**

Text 7.1 represents an explanation of the zoning process by Simone as Iwokrama representative to the NRDDDB Meeting of 4/11/00 and is an attempt to clarify previous explanations as it has been suggested that a large number of participants on the floor do not fully understand the process. As such the contribution is totally unprepared.

Text 7.1 Simone’s explanation of the SUA. Tape 21. NRDDDB Meeting. Institute. 4/11/2000.

---

Commentary  
i/p.

- 1 Sydney just asked me if I could tell you a little more about the SUA process,
  - 2 how it’s working.
  - 3 I’m not with - in Iwokrama the person in the department who’s managing the
  - 4 whole SUA.
-

Account

instr.

5 The processes is dealt with under (xxx),  
 6 and they have come up with a system  
 7 where they meet...  
 8 they have created a team,  
 9 and on that team you have the four NRDDDB representatives,  
 10 and there are two representatives from (the government),  
 11 from the Guyana Forestry Commission,  
 12 which is a government agency,  
 13 Guyana Environmental Protection Agency has representatives there  
 14 and it's always within their (x),  
 15 the idea was

{.1 Conjecture/  
 Plan

16 what they thought they could do was bring together communities,  
 17 these government representatives, Iwokrama,  
 18 to sit down and think about what would be the best way to plan the area,  
 19 to plan the businesses that they would develop in the area,  
 20 the management of the land in terms of SUA.  
 21 The thinking behind it is that these people would meet quarterly,  
 22 that's (xxxx) couple of months in between,  
 23 and what they would do is sit down and talk about how the process is going  
 24 and they could share what are their concerns and what they think should  
 25 happen.  
 26 So from the community perspective the idea was that the NRDDDB  
 27 representatives would be able to bring to the meeting what they think are  
 28 important for their villages. }  
 29 Because, remember, the SUA is really Iwokrama developing businesses in  
 30 the preserve.  
 31 And those businesses are going to operating, it's –  
 32 one possible business is logging;  
 33 a second is ecotourism;  
 34 a third is harvesting things like nibbi and cassava, for selling,  
 35 we call it non-timber forest products.

{.2 Conjecture

36 And so the idea was: How could this affect the communities?  
 37 How could the communities become involved,  
 38 the communities could benefit, from what was being discussed?  
 }

---

 Recount

39 What we have discussed so far at Iwokrama is

{.1 Conjecture

40 whether it would be possible to, for,  
 41 in between those meetings,  
 42 when the NRDDDB reps meet  
 43 that there's a smaller meeting just for the communities.  
 44 Now you know Janette runs the community programme,  
 45 so the idea was,

(.1.1 Reflection

46 even though NRDDDB would be meeting,  
 47 it was big meetings,  
 48 a lot of issues come up,  
 49 and it's four days,  
 50 and you never finish the discussions,  
 51 so a lot of things leave hanging,  
 52 and if we could have a meeting in between,  
 53 just with the communities  
 54 so we are clear about what it is you expect,  
 55 and we are clear,  
 56 there's a clear sense of what the communities want Iwokrama to do,  
 57 and a clear sense from Iwokrama of what we are capable of doing. }

[regul.]

↓

Plan

58 So it's...it's...the idea is to see how we can meet in between the general SUA  
 59 Meetings  
 60 to think through -  
 61 manage expectations more clearly,  
 62 and for us to be sure that...  
 63 you know,

{.1 Reflection

64 what William described,  
 65 when you're having a discussion on economics,  
 66 only some people can be involved in that discussion,  
 67 because of the level and the kinds of language  
 68 that was being used... }

[regul.]

↓

[ ]  
 69 So the idea of an in-between meeting is to be able to break that stuff down.

Reflection

70 We are sure (xxxxxxx) between Iwokrama,  
 71 and that we are sharing with you in a way that you have also clear about what  
 72 it is that we're doing up here.

Plan/

Conjecture

73 And the idea is that now the NRDDDB would think -  
 74 we would try to meet this afternoon  
 75 and think about what would be the best way to -  
 76 how to have outreach, in the villages,  
 77 so that people know what's going on in the villages as well with regard to the  
 78 SUA.

Recount

79 We talked about this at Iwokrama  
 80 after -  
 81 (when you left),  
 82 with the representatives (of the forest)  
 83 and the news that (really) came,  
 84 that came from David Hammond,

85 the thing with a picture on it,  
86 (just one page??).

{.1 Plan

87 And the idea was to (give a) newsletter to the village councils  
88 to share with the communities, }  
89 but the details, the details of the discussions,  
90 are things that are in this document.

Plan

91 So one of the first things that we would like NRDDDB to think about is

reg.

{.1 Commentary

92 whether you are interested  
93 and you think it would be useful for the community reps  
94 to meet in between of the bigger SUA (making  
95 plans). }  
96 I'm not sure I'm using the right language  
97 to (grip) all of you.

[i/p. ]



98 So that - so NRDDDB select the four people for the SUA  
99 meetings.  
100 The SUA meetings will happen quarterly.  
101 What we're proposing,  
102 and asking if the NRDDDB is interested, to meet -  
103 for the reps to meet with us also in between (those meeting times)  
104 so we can hammer out some of the issues  
105 and be sure we understand what's going on.  
106 So, that's kind of the proposal that will go out  
107 for you to think about  
108 and decide.

{.2 Conjecture

109 And if you do,  
110 we can start at this particular meeting -  
111 not, not today but, necessarily,  
112 but this time  
113 when we're all in the same place  
114 (could we have) a meeting with four reps and Errol,  
115 who's from Fair View,  
116 and myself,  
117 and sit down and meet -  
118 that'll be the first time?  
119 And then we could have a chance tomorrow to tell you a little more of what  
120 happens.  
121 The idea is,  
122 if we could discuss at the big group some of the points raised,  
123 and then in the afternoon or maybe tomorrow if we could meet as a  
124 small group  
125 to hammer out what are priorities in terms of what is  
126 expected of us,  
127 (we) appear on the list,



128 and then we can show that back to the big group and see if you agree  
 129 and then take that back with us, to Iwokrama. }

Commentary

i/p.

130 Zack, is that clear?

After Simone's contribution William and several other participants attempted to gloss the contribution. However, the attempted clarifications from these other participants were unsuccessful until Uncle Fred rose to make his intervention, as in Text 7.2.

Text 7.2. Uncle Fred's explanation of the SUA. Tape 21. NRDDDB Meeting. Institute.  
 4/11/2000.

Commentary

i/p

1 Mister Chairman, I would now like to ask a question  
 2 and then make some comments,  
 3 because it seems that (xxxxxxxxxx).  
 4 Now, I would want to ask the question:  
 5 How many of you here understand the interpretation of SU -  
 6 Sustainable Utilisation..Area?  
 7 How do you interpret it?  
 8 What do you think it really means?  
 9 Because that the core of what we are discussing.  
 10 D'you all understand it?  
 11 (Xxxxxxx) mean that you wouldn't grasp readily  
 12 what this meeting is all about.

Recount

instr.

13 Now the meeting we attended with this group of all the representatives of  
 14 various organisations:  
 15 We sat down there  
 16 to discuss relatively commonplace intuitions,  
 17 but we discussed the Sustainable Utilisation Area,

{.1 Account

18 in that the Wilderness Preserve is another area,  
 19 that is where the zoning is important.  
 20 Had they not that place zoned to identify the Sustainable Utilisation Area,  
 21 here is where you all knowledge –  
 22 all of us knowledge comes into play.

(.1.1 Reflection

23 Because we are the people who are familiar with that forest,  
 24 we are people closest to the forest

25 more than anybody else who live outside,  
 26 because it's a way of life that's part of it,  
 27 and we are the ones to give an advice.

[.1.1.1Action

28 And we should state it in that vein.  
 29 Because  
 30 whenever you're down,  
 31 whoever comes from there will return,  
 32 we remain here.

[regul.]  
 [ ]

[.1.1.2 Conjecture

33 And whatever is built or constructed,  
 34 whatever it is,  
 35 we will remain.  
 36 Of course some of it (has been lost).  
 37 But then we're working to defend (xx)  
 38 all of us,  
 39 (xx) worry.

)}

Account

40 Now, the Sustainable Utilisation Area means  
 41 the area which you can use natural resources (be) there.

{.1 Reflection

42 In the sustainable use you keep it...not going down,  
 43 But  
 44 if possible  
 45 you keep it increasing

[regul.]

(.1.1Prediction

46 so that those things,  
 47 whatever it may be,  
 48 whether it be (x), medicinal plants, frogs, centipedes, snakes, fishes,  
 49 baboon, or what-you-call- it,  
 50 there's nothing in there

)

(.1.2 Action

51 and you must not be (xxxxxx),

[.1.2.1 Prediction

52 so that our generation have just a few years to keep it.  
 53 You take out,

)

(.1.3 Action

54 but then you must stop,

[.1.3.1 Plan

55 to have that recycling going on,  
 56 so that the interaction of the resources going on.  
 57 (xxxxxx), reforestation,  
 58 planting seedlings should grow up,

)

(.1.4 Conjecture

59 you could find a special medicinal plant.  
 60 Because  
 61 if you find –  
 62 obviously if you find a very valuable medicinal plant,



63 which can cure some diseases,  
 64 you would have it in (xx).  
 65 Which means  
 66 if you go and take all that natural resource you have there,  
 67 you're going to be (depleting established connexion)...  
 68 (stand) the line,  
 69 so that you can observe...changes.

}}

[▼]

Plan

70 How can you change it?  
 71 How do you farm?  
 72 What path do you take a year after,  
 73 take a year, five year, or ten year or fifteen year period?

{.1 Prediction

74 So, we get to understand the forest better  
 75 and those things will be left in their natural state.

}

{.2 Account

76 Because there are other important issues which we,

(.2.1Reflection

77 because we live among them,  
 78 we live inside,  
 79 it's a way of life,  
 80 we take it for granted.  
 81 We (xxx).

[regul.]

82 Many of us do not have sense of why,  
 83 we (don't??) know how valuable those things are to us,  
 84 and we just discard it,  
 85 like many of us who (pushing) fire in the savannah -  
 86 you know how many innocent birds' lives you destroying  
 87 (probably, even though you set xxx)?  
 88 If a snake (xxxxxxx xxxxxx).

|.2.1.1 Action

89 So, don't blame the snakes  
 90 where you can't go (x) in the savannah,

\*.2.1.1.1General.

91 it's not good,  
 92 it's a very bad habit,  
 93 like poisoning,  
 94 all these things are detrimental.  
 95 But we never study it in depth,  
 96 we don't know how disastrous it is.

\*]

)

[▼]

97 So these are things which we have now asked to participate in our  
 98 knowledge (about it)  
 99 to find certain things.

}

Account

regul.

{.1 Reflection

(.1.1Conjecture

{.2 Recount

{.3 Recount

{.4 Prediction

{.5 Commentary

(.5.1Account

100 Now when we come to sustainability of the forest,  
101 it does not confine that to Iwokrama alone,

102 we have to look on the other communities way outside.

103 Because we might not find

104 (when it-

105 when the plant come,)

106 to assess it:

107 "What do we have?

108 Okay, this piece of thing, yeah yeah,

109 we'll try this for sustainable utilisation." )

110 What is there that we can use sustainably?

111 One of the things you have to do is research. }

112 A lot has been done with animals,

113 reptiles, birds, and all those things.

114 Bit of a botanical collection was done, }

115 there's a lot yet to be done.

116 The greenheart of Iwokrama,

117 that was one of the key elements they

118 classified. }

119 They want to do (xing them) now.

120 (Xx) setting up (xxx) Amerindians (xx)

121 and then there's no greenheart in the area. }

122 And when we adapt for commercial harvesting

123 (such) indicate // in a short while it will disappear. }

124 So they have to pinpoint those areas.

125 Now they have a good idea,

126 but I'm still a bit sceptical about certain areas I notice

127 that are for sustainable -

128 I look at the map,

129 "Oh oh of course it just ends there",

130 and you have a wilderness reserve

131 and you have a sustainable portion (xxxxxxx) - )

132 To my mind (xxxx after xx x) population,

133 because this wildlife preserve (xx)

[instr.]

[instr.]

[i/p. ]

(.5.2 Prediction

[instr.]

134 as soon as applications start here,  
 135 (we're started...xx).  
 136 And once they adapt,  
 137 there are migration and migratory routes which they will take  
 138 and they will find themselves right up in Pakaraimas for the next year.)) [▼]  
 139 So these are things still to be discussed  
 140 because there is not -

{.6 Commentary

141 I don't think that that is already confirmed where (x),  
 142 those are just tentative demarcation (x). }

{.7 Reflection

[instr.]

143 However, our part to play is  
 144 what we can do to help, (xxxxxxxx, xx).

(.7.1 Commentary

145 We are looking at the moment at non-timber products,  
 146 we are not talking about extraction of timber,

[.7.1.1 Generalisation

147 (and the name for all this) non-timber products. |  
 148 We are looking at things like (x) handicrafts, nuts that we can harvest,  
 149 (make it xx 275 x x), dyes.  
 150 And other things that you can use from the forest that can bring cash. [▼]

[.7.1.2 Generalisation.

151 Because  
 152 if you are going to be sustainable,

\* .7.1.2.1 Action

153 you have to make money.  
 154 You can't go begging on (xxx). \*  
 155 Nothing is free.  
 156 After we've done our bit of regeneration,  
 157 it isn't free,  
 158 somebody has to pay for it.  
 159 So, nothing is free,  
 160 don't worry that you're going to hear people say  
 161 that it is free,  
 162 nothing!  
 163 And this  
 164 where we are sitting, sitting here now,  
 165 that is sustainable out the forest.  
 166 So, the forest (xx). }}

Recount

167 Then,  
 168 doing that,  
 169 one of the recommendations that I made was

{.1 Plan

170 in a small way the community  
 171 (xx) they can give their support  
 172 in doing some identification of things that





### 7.3.1 Clause structure.

Table 7.1 shows various features of the two contributions that relate to the speed of delivery and the complexity of clause structure, features that are likely to affect the comprehension of texts, especially when delivered orally and to an audience that consists to a large extent of non-native speakers. The table gives the rate of delivery in words per minute and the average number of non-embedded clauses per sentence. It also provides a rough measure of the number of different ideas each speaker packages into their sentences through the use of complex clause structure. The table shows for each speaker the average number of non-embedded clauses per sentence, the average level of subordination of hypotactic clauses, and the ratio of embedded to non-embedded clauses<sup>2</sup>. To calculate the level of subordination, a paratactic clause subordinate to the main clause scores one point, while hypotactic clauses within hypotactic clauses score two, and so on. The total figure achieved is then divided by the total number of non-embedded clauses to produce an average score. In terms of embedding, single-embedded clauses each score a point, double embeddings two points, and so on. The total figure is then divided by the number of non-embedded clauses to give an average number of embeddings per clause.

Example 7.3 is reproduced from lines 70-72 of Text 7.1 and shows multiple embedding<sup>3</sup>, with each embedded clause enclosed in double square brackets: `[[xxx]]`. This sentence scores a total of six points for embedding: one for the original embedding, two for the embedding within it, and a further three for the embedding within that. Example 7.4 is reproduced from lines 44-57 of Text 7.1 and shows a complex clause structure and the relationships between the clauses. Following Halliday (1994:225-250), paratactic relationships are marked with Roman numerals, hypotactic relationships with Greek letters. Various degrees of clause relationship are marked by the indentation of these figures (e.g. six paratactic clauses in a hypotactic relationship to another clause as in Example 7.4). The logical relation types between clauses are marked as follows: mental projections with [<sup>^</sup>]; elaborations, which restate information, with [=]; extensions, which add new information, with [+]; and enhancements, which develop information, with [x]. This sentence scores nine points for subordination, one each for the nine paratactic

clauses within the second of the two main clauses (the projection in the first main clause is not included).

7.3 We are sure... that we are sharing with you in a way [[that you have also clear about [[what it is [[that we're doing up here]] ] ] ].

7.4     1     $\alpha$             Now you know  
            $\beta$             Janette runs the community programme,  
           +2    $\alpha$             so the idea was  
            $\gamma$      1            even though NRDDDB would be meeting,  
                  +2            it was big meetings,  
                  +3            a lot of issues come up,  
                  +4            and it's four days,  
                  +5            and you never finish the discussions,  
                  +6            so a lot of things leave hanging  
            $\alpha$             and if we could have a meeting in between, just with the  
                  communities,  
            $\beta$      1            so we are clear about what it is you expect,  
                  +2            and we are clear  
                  =3            there's a clear sense of what the communities want  
                  Iwokrama to do, and a clear sense from Iwokrama  
                  of what we are capable of doing.

Table 7.1 below shows that while Simone speaks at a rate 12.5% quicker than Uncle Fred, there is a greater difference in the complexity of their respective clause structures. Simone uses more than twice as many embeddings (223%) per clause as Uncle Fred, and nearly twice as much subordination (186%). This proliferation of (poorly structured) information within clauses by Simone clearly contrasts with Uncle Fred's use of simple sentences to develop information, and it might well be reasonable to compare this overload of information with the banking approach to instruction as opposed to the mutual development of common concerns. The following analyses draw out this contrast between the provision of unknown information and the development of mutual concerns and relate this to the model of language and power built up in Chapter 3.

7.3.2 Mode and the contextualisation of discourse.

At a certain level, the two contributions in Texts 7.1 and 7.2 are fairly similar in their use and sequencing of RUS, as summarised below using Hasan’s (1996 Chapter 3) notation<sup>4</sup> (but n.b. this is not a generic structure which would have to consider all registerial features, as in section 7.4 below):

Simone:  
Commentary^Account^Recount^Plan^Reflection^Plan^Recount^Plan^Commentary  
Uncle Fred:      Commentary^Recount^Account^Plan^Account^Recount^Account^Commentary

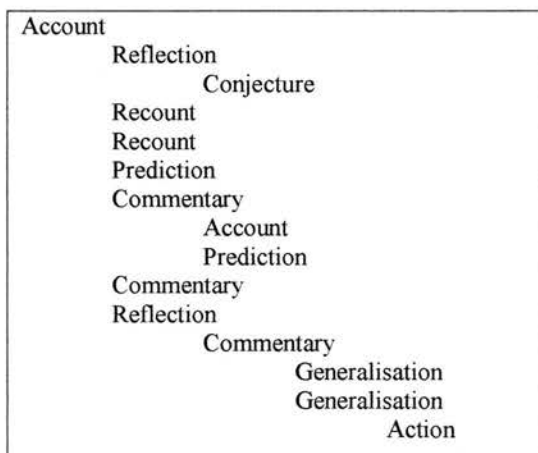
Such superficial similarities are not surprising given that the two texts share the same communicative goal and operate within the same institutional constraints: they are both expert contributions to the NRRDB explaining the SUA process to the participants in general. Where the texts differ, however, is in how they use the same RUS to achieve

<i>Text 7.1: Simone.</i>	<i>Text 7.2: Uncle Fred.</i>
Length of text: 5m50s No of words: 942 <b>Words per minute: 162.24.</b>	Length of text: 8m55s. No of words: 1,271. <b>Words per minute: 143.9.</b>
No of sentences: 27. No of non-embedded clauses: 105. Words per clause: 8.96. <b>Clauses per sentence: 3.9.</b>	No of sentences: 68. No of non-embedded clauses: 167. Words per clause: 7.61. <b>Clauses per sentence: 2.46.</b>
No of single embeddings: 30. No of double embeddings: 9. No of triple embeddings: 1. Total points: 51. <b>Average number embeddings per clause: 0.49.</b>	No of single embeddings: 30. No of double embeddings: 3. No of triple embeddings: 0 Total points: 36. <b>Average number embeddings per clause: 0.22.</b>
No of singly subordinate clauses: 44. No of doubly-subordinate clauses: 9. No of triply-subordinate clauses: 4. Total points: 74. <b>Average subordination per clause = 0.705.</b>	No of singly subordinate clauses: 42. No of doubly-subordinate clauses: 11 No of triply-subordinate clauses: 0 Total points: 64. <b>Average subordination per clause: 0.38.</b>

*Table 7.1. Clausal features of Texts 7.1 and 7.2.*

different subgoals. Of particular interest in this respect is the way in which Uncle Fred appropriates the institutional RU structure for his own ends, following it at a superficial level while repeatedly employing embedded RUs to project community values through this surface structure.

A good illustration of this process is the means by which Uncle Fred describes the meeting he attended along with “this group of all the representatives of various organisations” (13-39). This stretch of text begins with a Recount, as would be expected, but the Recount framework is used to project<sup>5</sup> an Account (18-39) of the Wilderness Preserve, which itself projects a Reflection (23-39) on the bond between the community and the forest. In this way the text becomes progressively more contextualised, more immediately relevant to the local participants, while remaining close, on the surface level, to the generic structure of the Simone’s contribution. The result of this strategy is that the meeting attended is described not as simply a past event but as a process with immediate relevance to the lives of the local community and as such a topic on which they can pass comment. This process is repeated in the following section where an Account of the SUA (40-69) projects a Reflection on current local conservation practice and the importance of recycling for future generations (42-69). Uncle Fred’s most complex use of embedding occurs between lines 100 and 166, superficially an Account, but with the following structure (where each indentation represents a further level of embedding):



*Table 7.2. RU structure of Text 7.2, ll.100-166.*



Simone, in contrast, employs very little embedding of more immediate message types as she describes the SUA in terms of largely decontextualised Plans, Recounts and Conjectures.

In terms of socialisation contexts, both speakers begin and end on an interpersonal note. For the main work of her contribution, Simone employs the straightforward and perfectly valid strategy of setting out the background of the SUA in an instructional context (5-90), with only a couple of short regulatory embeddings (46-50&64-68), before moving on to a regulatory context in order to organise further meetings (91-129). This regulatory context is softened by a short interpersonal preface (92-97).

Again, Uncle Fred's contribution appears to mirror this movement from instruction to regulation, and again this is all surface form as Uncle Fred repeatedly and at length embeds one socialisation context within another (28-29,42-69,82-96,112-114,116-121,126-133,134-138,143-150&192-193). Of particular interest is Uncle Fred's projection of the regulatory context (42-69) through the instructional (40-69), by which he construes the obligations and duties of the local community as part of the very fabric of the natural history of the area. To take this point further, lines 23-39 are regulatory in function, though embedded in instruction and instantiated as Reflection; in other words, Uncle Fred is talking about what must be done (regulatory context) in the immediate language of real-life experience (Reflection) as a means of instructing his audience on the history of the SUA process (instructional context). This mixing of functions, while complex, highlights Uncle Fred's consistent strategy of explaining development not in terms of scientific facts but through the needs of everyday life. Uncle Fred's use of RUS and socialisation contexts could thus be said to come closer to the ideal of praxis, the combination of theory and practice that William clearly sought to achieve through the workshop in text 6.1 and that various community members lauded (see Chapter 2).

Uncle Fred's constant changing and embedding of RUS and socialisation contexts means that the social purpose of his message is often *invisible* in that it must be inferred by his hearers (Cloran 1999:60 after Bernstein 1975.). The section of Text 7.2 from line 42 to line 69, for example, is largely put across through Reflections, Predictions and

Conjectures, RUs that would be congruent with instructional contexts, yet the underlying message here is clearly regulatory. Simone, on the other hand, in creating a predominantly instructional context and employing Plans and Conjectures within her Accounts, uses very visible socialisation strategies. According to Bernstein and his followers (n.b. Bernstein 1973), invisible strategies are a handicap to those communicating outside their fields of socialisation; yet according to the feedback both during and after the meeting, quoted above, this approach proves to be the more effective means of communication. This would suggest that if discourse is sufficiently contextualised, especially if the field of discourse is relevant to community life (see Section 7.3.3 below), then highly visible strategies are not needed while, conversely, such visibility is ineffective where discourse is overly decontextualised and the topic unfamiliar.

### 7.3.3 Field and the representation of reality.

#### *Depth: Brief Description and Interpretation.*

A linguistic feature that is often supposed to account for problems in communication is the extensive use of technical terms by professional development staff compared with local participants. However, a brief and rough survey of the two relevant extracts suggests that if anything Uncle Fred uses considerably more technical language than Simone. The following lines could, for example, be considered in some way technical in their use of unfamiliar words and the nominalisation of processes:

Simone: lines 5-6, 26, 61, 76, 101.

Uncle Fred: lines 5, 16, 20, 41, 56, 57, 70, 94, 97, 100, 101, 122, 134, 137, 141-142, 146, 156, 165.

This suggests that Uncle Fred uses considerably more language that could be termed technical while feedback suggests that his contribution is more readily understood than those of various Iwokrama speakers over a considerable time period. This would suggest that the judicious introduction of technical terms into largely non-technical discourse does not create serious problems in comprehension and it would appear from Texts 7.1

and 7.2 that Uncle Fred is more willing to take risks in appropriating outside knowledge than Simone is in imposing it.

### *Topic.*

If we look at the two texts from the point of view of the semantic development of the concept ‘Sustainable Utilisation Area’ we find marked differences between the two speakers. Whereas Simone appears to develop the concept in terms of explaining the technical processes involved in SUAs, Uncle Fred seems more interested in illustrating their local relevance and applications. These interpretations clearly resonate with the analysis of mode above.

The semantic development of the concept SUA through each text is tracked in Appendix 5, following Martin’s monodimensional approach, and Figures 7.2 and 7.3 are two-dimensional representations of the semantic relationships identified in this process, mappings of the speakers’ different construals of SUAs.

### *Description and Interpretation.*

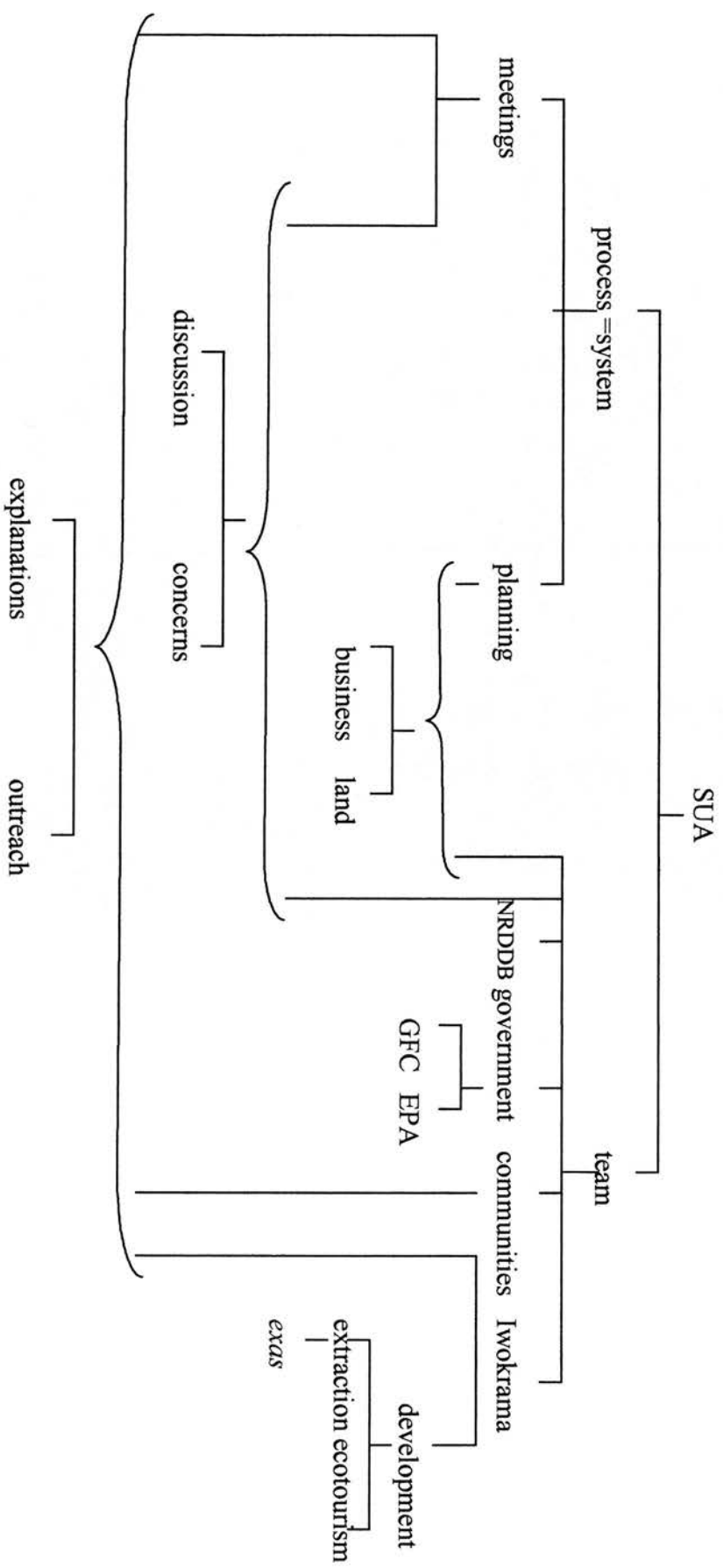
Figures 7.2 and 7.3 (and the tables in Appendix 5) demonstrate just how divergent are the semantic fields employed by the two speakers to develop the SUAs as a concept. In brief, Simone begins by subcategorising the SUA into “system” (6) and “team” (8), which elements are then further subcategorised (9-15). From this point on, the explanation of the SUA process is overwhelmingly in terms of meetings and discussions. Though there are occasional sidelong glances at resources and businesses (29-35), the effect of the programme on local communities (36-38) and issues of communications (64-69, 73-78, 87-90 & 96-97), there is a constant emphasis on the *workings* of the SUA programme as a theoretical process while the relevance of the SUAs to the communities seems to relate more to the community role in outreach (73-78) than to the basis of the programme in daily life and its effect upon it. Where Simone does relate the process to community life, this relationship is seen as a result rather than a cause of the process (36-38), while the relationship between land and business, so central to Uncle Fred’s definition below,

becomes embedded within the explanation of the SUA as process (20-35). In these terms the SUA is very much an Iwokrama-dominated process (and explicitly stated as such in lines 29-38&121-129).

In stark contrast to Simone's explanations of the SUA programme, from the outset Uncle Fred defines it in terms that relate to the local community. After briefly problematising local understanding of the concept (1-12), he refers to the zoning process that identified the SUAs (18-20), a process that needed the local knowledge of the people as the inhabitants of the zone, now redefined as the "forest" (23) and later expanded to the "area which you can use natural resources (be) there" (41). In this way Uncle Fred develops his principal representation of the SUA as the combination of people (21-39) and resources (40-69) through understanding.

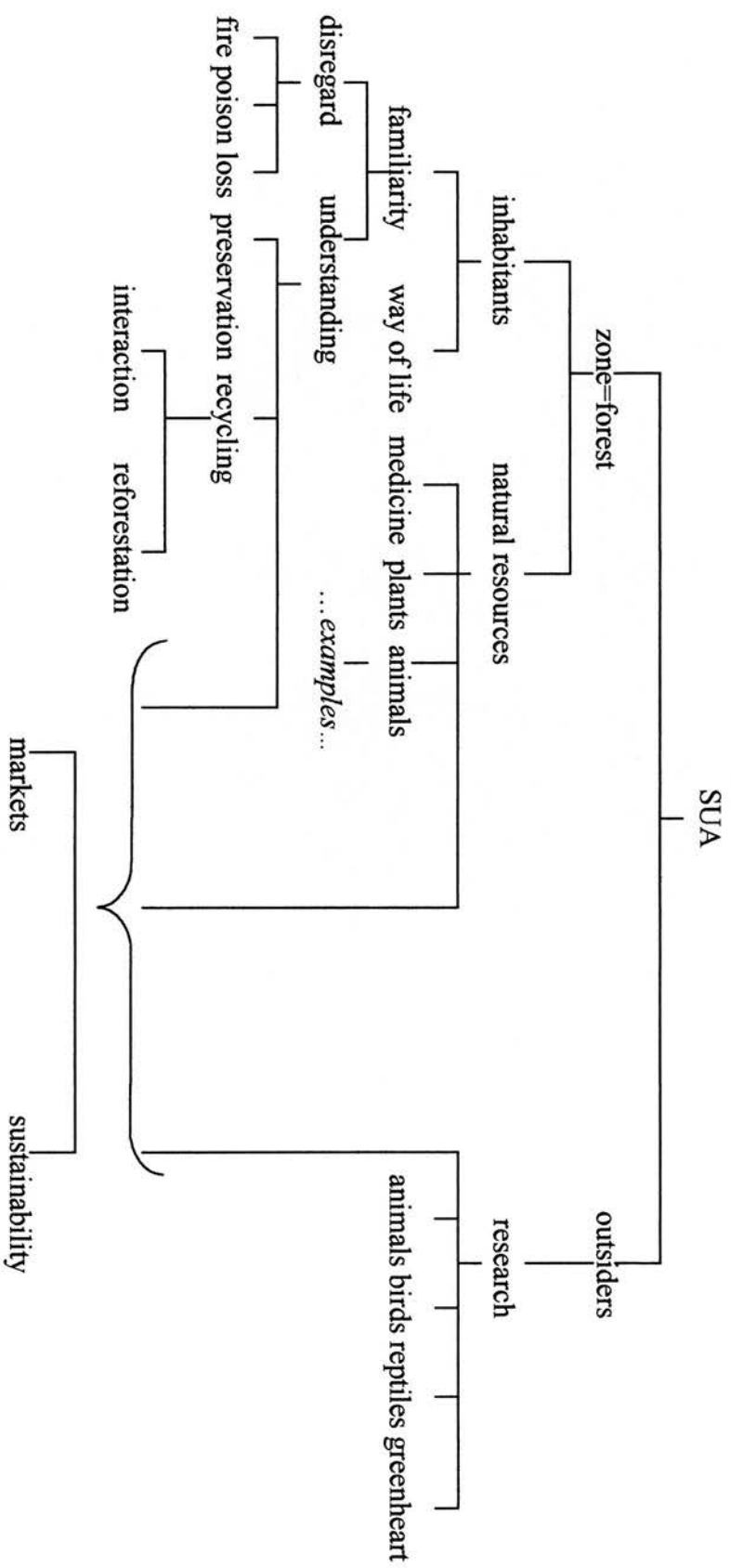
The relationship between people and land is not straightforward, however, and Uncle Fred introduces the key concept that familiarity can breed either contempt or understanding (70-99). The key to understanding is research (103-142) that combines local familiarity with outside techniques (143-203), so overcoming the limitations of the purely local (103-125) or the purely external (126-142). And the result of this collaboration is sustainable economic development for the community (150-166&183-201).

From the beginning to the end of his contribution Uncle Fred presents the SUA process in terms that have immediate local relevance: the initial development of the concept SUA is as the land and the relation of the communities to it, while the final picture is of the SUA programme as the source of sustainable economic development for the community through the sustainability of markets. The component parts of the term SUA are thus the *Area* as the forest and the community that knows it and their *Utilisation* of it for community livelihoods which are *Sustainable* through local knowledge in combination with outside expertise. This reliance on a locally relevant field of discourse resonates with the high level of contextualisation of Uncle Fred's discourse as message, above.



*Figure 7.2. Simone's construal of SUAs.*





*Figure 7.3. Uncle Fred's construal of SUAs.*

#### 7.3.4 Mood and Conjunction.

The relationship between field and mode can be further explained in terms of conjunction. In particular, we can see that Uncle Fred uses locally relevant examples to *justify* community involvement in the Iwokrama development programme. Three examples are taken from the texts above. Uncle Fred's double BECAUSE in lines 23 and 29 justifies the Account of his presence at the earlier meeting (18-22) through a Reflection on the closeness of the local communities to the forest (23 to 27). Similarly, BECAUSE in line 151 justifies looking at non-timber products in terms of the need to generate income, using the immediacy of an Action to justify an Account. In contrast, Simone uses THE IDEA WAS to justify an Account with a Conjecture/Plan in line 15 and to justify a Plan with a Conjecture in line 121, in each case the justification being a move towards greater abstraction in terms of message (for this continuum, see Appendix 2) and a failure to relate events to community life in terms of field.

#### 7.3.5 Tenor and the construction of face relations.

The interpersonal metafunction is the means of realising propositions as speech acts and so includes: (i) the control each speaker exercises over the flow of discourse, especially through the mood of their utterances; (ii) the force each speaker feels able to give to their speech acts in terms of the truth value or the authority they convey, especially in terms of modality; and (iii) the identification of the speaker with various sectors of the audience and the wider community, especially through the use of inclusive or exclusive personal pronouns and naming procedures. These features in combination can thus be analysed to reveal the relationships between various participants in terms of solidarity and power differentials between them. Further, when the field of discourse is also taken into consideration, a distinction can be made between power differentials based primarily on superior knowledge on the one hand, labelled power/knowledge below, and power differentials based on the speaker's status within the community on the other, labelled moral authority. This idea is developed below.

*Description and interpretation.*

Uncle Fred's opening speech act immediately throws up points of interest in terms of both power and solidarity relations. With respect to power, Uncle Fred's *Mister Chairman, I would like now to ask a question and then make some comments* is interesting in that here Uncle Fred not only stands to speak unbidden, in contrast to Simone, who is asked to speak, but also in that he *prebooks* his further comments (2) and continues to speak uninterrupted for eight minutes and fifty-five seconds and beyond. In this time Uncle Fred, whose qualifications are purely gained from experience, not only expounds upon matters scientific and economic, but does so in the wake of failures from 'expert' voices within the power-broking community. That Uncle Fred is able to speak for so long uninterrupted at this juncture and on these issues reflects not only the esteem with which he is held by his fellow community members but also his authority as a *legitimate speaker* (Bourdieu 1977, in Norton 2000:69) in negotiations with Iwokrama. In gaining and exploiting this authority for himself, he is redressing the power imbalance between 'local' and 'expert' voices in general, reducing the interpersonal awe that such distance creates and opening up space for the legitimation of other local voices.

In terms of solidarity, Uncle Fred's opening is again interesting in his use, commented on above, of *Mister Chairman* to his eldest son Sydney. Through the low solidarity of this address, Uncle Fred signals that his contribution is to be interpreted in terms of the formal institutional structures of the NRDDB as an institution rather than in the solidary terms of the North Rupununi as a community (*cf.* William's usage in Texts 6.4-6.6 above). In contrast, Simone refers to Sydney by his first name, possibly as an attempt to diminish the distance created by Iwokrama's prestige as an international organisation.

Solidarity is also constructed through the use of pronouns to the extent to which they signal inclusivity (WE), exclusivity (I/WE vs YOU) or distance (HE/SHE/IT/THEY). Influential speakers can use these forms to draw on different sources of power. Of particular interest in the NRDDB setting are: (i) relationships of high solidarity based on common cause; (ii) the moral authority of the community elder who is set apart from the rest of the community yet whose status is dependent on shared values, history and experience; (iii) the practical skills of the local expert, with uncommon ability in common

matters; and (iv) the technical knowledge/power of the certificated expert who is separated from their audience by both the level of their expertise and the rarity of their knowledge.

Analysing Text 7.1 from this point of view, Simone seems at first to distance herself from the decision makers in Iwokrama, referring to them in the third person (6,16,19&24), perhaps in an attempt to show some solidarity with the local representatives by implying that both are being controlled within the SUA process rather than controlling it. However, by line 35 Iwokrama is again WE for Simone, contrasting strongly with the oppositional YOU in lines 39 to 57 as the WE of Iwokrama is depicted as having to reorganise meetings that the YOU of the local communities have failed to carry out properly. The relationship of high solidarity aimed for in the opening lines has turned into an oppositional power relation at this point. Simone reverts to what seems to be an inclusive WE (58) to refer to the two groups as equal participants in future meetings, but WE is soon used once again to refer to Iwokrama, who take on the powerful positions of evaluators (62&70), providers of knowledge (71) and elevated participants, "up here" (72). From this point to the end reference switches between WE as Iwokrama (79,91,101&129) in contrast to YOU the communities (81,92,93,107&109) and the inclusive WE of Iwokrama and the communities meeting together (74,104,110,113,114, 119,122&128). In this section, however, the distance created serves to enhance the power of the local communities through negative politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987 *passim*), as evidenced by the extreme deference of the request for them to participate at the in-between meetings that brings the contribution to a close. Here the use of "we would like NRDDDB to think about..." (92), the expression of requests indirectly through conditional clauses (102&109), and the politeness of distal COULD (114,119,122&123) all serve to recall that ultimately the local communities have a power of veto over any proposed activity. The flurry of modal forms here serves to highlight their virtual absence elsewhere, an absence which can possibly be explained by the contrast between the moral overtones of modality and Iwokrama's power base in superior objective knowledge.

The power relationship constructed by Simone in Text 7.1 is thus one of Iwokrama and the local communities as coworkers, but with each side possessing latent powers in the

wings: the power/knowledge of Iwokrama, and the power of non-cooperation of the local communities.

In Text 7.2, Uncle Fred begins his contribution by underlining his personal authority, through the first person I (1,3&4), and through his unquestioned right not only to speak at will (1&2) but also to question publicly, if rhetorically, the level of external knowledge of the community, as YOU (7,8&10). The authority to do this stems from the combination of Uncle Fred's great solidarity with his community and his connections with external power as epitomised in this instance by Iwokrama, and the immediately following section emphasises both these aspects. The WE of 13-17 is non-inclusive, referring to the group of local participants who attended the previous SUA meeting and thus stressing their acquaintance with external knowledge systems; however, lines 21-39 seem to turn this on its head as the oppositional YOU referring to the community in general is incorporated into a wider "all of us" (21-22) and the importance of shared community knowledge and values is stressed as Uncle Fred launches into a litany of WEs that not only expresses his strong solidarity with the community but also suggests that there it is some level of moral duty on the communities as the true experts on the forest to assert their Knowledge/Power over Iwokrama in terms of local issues and forest life. This is made explicit through the use of SHOULD in "we are the ones to give advice. And we should state it in that vein" (28),

Uncle Fred constructs a power role for himself in order to regulate community behaviour, just as Simone did. However, while Iwokrama's authority was based solely on differences in external knowledge/power, Uncle Fred constructs a position of moral authority over the behaviour of the community through a combination of power based on distance and power rooted in solidarity. His personal authority is constructed through the subjective expression of obligation MUST (51&54), and through the use of direct imperatives (89,160,175,176&195) within behavioural injunctions directed at the community as YOU (42-69,86-90,151-201). Exhortations to the community to maintain its shared life experiences and traditions (23-39&77-81) are addressed to a solidary WE and explicitly opposed to 'the other' as "anybody else who live outside" (25) and "whoever comes from there [and] will return" (31). This difference is clearly seen in



lines 82 to 88 where the WE of community life carries on into a series of injunctions before it is adjusted to the YOU (86) that would be expected here.

Such a combination of power difference and high solidarity reflects Uncle Fred's community-based *moral authority* as opposed to the knowledge/power of Iwokrama that he also enjoys through his knowledge of external technology. While his opening lines emphasise that he is more acquainted with external knowledge systems than the majority of the community, when there is a choice to be made between the two types of power, as with collaboration with Iwokrama on development research and training (100-150), Uncle Fred places himself firmly on the side of solidarity: Iwokrama are THEY (117,119&124), while the community is very much WE (102,103,107,109,122, 135,143,144,145,146&148). And where Uncle Fred most exerts his personal knowledge/power, it is to oppose his own highly regarded community-based knowledge to the external knowledge of the experts (126-138), a move which seems to construct solidarity with the community and a level of power/knowledge over it simultaneously. Another feature combining face relations is Uncle Fred's frequent use of CAN (63,70,90,144,154,170,173,177&197) to define what is possible, a usage that mixes aspects of the moral authority of permission and a scientific evaluation of the viable. This feature will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

In general, Uncle Fred has constructed a complex position for himself, with his power based to some extent on both external and local forms of knowledge but chiefly on his moral authority within the community, a power which relies on a continuing relationship of local solidarity.

#### **7.4 Explanation of Texts 7.1 and 7.2 in the wider social context.**

Following Gregory's (1998) notion of phase, whereby significant changes within any one metafunction count as a shift in phase, the different phases in each speaker's contribution are set out in Tables 7.3 and 7.4. The subgoal of each phase within the contribution as a whole is identified, and the progression of these makes up the generic structure of each

text. The registerial variables that constitute each phase and which were identified in the previous sections are included to support the analysis.

#### 7.4.1. Texts 7.1 and 7.2 in terms of institutional constraints.

Looking at Texts 7.1 and 7.2 and the summary of their generic features in Tables 7.3 and 7.4, it would appear that the two speakers have quite different goals behind their contributions. These differences can be related to the model of language and power set up in Chapter 3 in terms of the different roles the two speakers construct for themselves and the meaning of these roles within the different ideological systems in which the two speakers chiefly operate.

In Text 7.1, for example, Simone's overall goal is to explain the workings of the SUA process as a system and to allocate roles and responsibilities for the various groups working together on the process, culminating in an indirect but fairly clear request for cooperation in the last phase before the conclusion (91-129). This ethos of collaboration certainly runs counter to the Government's ideology of paternalism, as construed through the Amerindian Act; however, Simone's consistent construction of Iwokrama's authority through knowledge, the rapid outpouring of new information, and the emphasis on the SUA process as a structure combine to suggest that Iwokrama is ultimately in control of this structure and that the local communities are to collaborate according to the place allocated to them. In these terms Text 7.1 could be characterised as cooptive. Similarly, despite appeals for collaboration, Simone's attempts to explain external ideas in their own self-contained terms remain to some extent fixed within a banking method of instruction which reflects and reproduces knowledge/power relations within the local context on the one hand and also relates to wider structures in that it allows the exchange of information to be quantified, 'evaluated' and compared at a distance by the transnational groups that fund Iwokrama and for whom the presentation of information often counts as a goal achieved and a box ticked, irrespective of the level of understanding achieved (*cf.* Chambers 1997:65).

Phase:	Subgoal:	Mode:	Field:	Tenor:
1-4	<b>Justify intervention and establish credentials.</b>	Commentary. Interpersonal context	SUA as process.	I as knower, YOU as receivers
5-35	<b>Explain thinking of Iwokrama underlying SUA.</b>	Account of SUA as system; embedded Conjecture (16-28) Instructional context.	SUA as system and team; make-up and duties of team.	Iwokrama = THEY controlling speaker and communities creates [+solidarity] with community participants.
36-38	<b>Metacommentary to present issues</b>	Conjecture (embedded in Account) about purpose. Instructional context.	Involvement of communities and affect on them.	Third person <i>communities</i> . Theoretical possibilities.
39-57	<b>Set out past and existing problems.</b>	Recount of past meetings, projecting Conjecture (ll.40-57) with embedded Reflection (ll.46-51). Instructional context with regulatory embedding (ll.46-49).	Scheduling and make-up of different levels of meetings.	Iwokrama = WE Community = YOU [+power/knowledge] for Iwokrama
58-69	<b>Contrast with past and existing problems.</b>	Plan of longish term with embedded Reflection (ll.64-68) Instructional context with regulatory embedding (ll.64-68)	Content of general SUA meetings.	Iwokrama as WE enabling and evaluating communities as YOU. CAN and BE ABLE. Very strong [+power/knowledge] for Iwokrama.
70-72	<b>Evaluation of contrast.</b>	Reflection on collaboration. Instructional context.	Iwokrama as collaborator.	WE up there as knowers. [+power/knowledge] for Iwokrama.
73-78	<b>Move from theory to action.</b>	Plan/Conjecture for immediate action. Instructional context.	Possible outreach.	WE as NRDDDB + Iwokrama meeting together.
79-90	<b>Justification of action.</b>	Recount with embedded Plan (ll.87-88). Instructional context.	Sharing of information between Iwokrama and communities.	WE as Iwokrama YOU as NRDDDB members at meeting. Information from Iwokrama out. [+Power/Knowledge] for Iwokrama.
91-129	<b>Request for goods and services: participation.</b>	Plan with embedded Commentary (ll.92-95) and Conjecture (ll.109-129). Regulatory context with interpersonal embedding (ll.92-97)	Setting up and content of in-between meetings, feedback to bigger meeting.	WE mixes Iwokrama alone and both together. YOU = NRDDDB. Indirect requests with interest as qualifying factor. CAN, COULD, WILL. [-power] and [+solidarity] between Iwokrama and NRDDDB.
130	<b>Wrap up.</b>	Commentary. Interpersonal context.	Metadiscourse.	Question, first name. [+solidarity] with community.

*Table 7.3. Generic features of Simone's contribution in Text 7.1 by metafunction.*

Phase:	Subgoal:	Mode:	Field:	Tenor:
1-12	<b>Introduction, setting up knowledge and authority differences, establishing credentials.</b>	Commentary. Interpersonal context.	Meaning of SUA.	Establishes right to speak. Emphasises institutional context through title of Chairman. UF as I has knowledge, uses authority to question knowledge of communities as YOU through rhetorical questions. [+power/knowledge] for UF.
13-39	<b>Justify attendance at meeting on SUA in terms of traditions and sustainability of community life and importance of local knowledge input.</b>	Recount of meeting projecting Account. Multiple embeddings. Instructional context with regulatory embedding.	Conservation as Wilderness Preserve and Sustainable Utilisation Area; importance of local familiarity with and permanence in area.	WE = invitees THEY = Iwokrama, leading into to YOU = community at large as knowers, leading into WE = community. SHOULD for duty of communities. [+solidarity] UF with communities. [+power/knowledge] for communities over Iwokrama.
40-69	<b>Explain relevance of recycling etc to life, SUA as duty as well as process.</b>	Account of SUA projecting Reflection. Multiple embeddings. Instructional context projecting regulatory.	Sustainability, recycling, depletion of natural resources.	(Generic) YOU as being regulated through instruction. Subjective MUST for moral obligations. [+Moral Authority] of UF.
70-73	<b>Transition.</b>	Plan. Instructional context.	Community activities.	Maintains this with rhetorical questions.
74-99	<b>Problematises local familiarity with respect to sustainability</b>	Plan projecting Reflection. Multiple embeddings. Instructional context projecting regulatory.	Abuses of forest resources resulting from familiarity.	WE as community, but becoming YOU for worst errors. Bare imperative. [+moral authority] through distance within solidarity.
100-125	<b>Relates benefits of outside knowledge to above.</b>	Account of sustainability and complementary research with multiple embeddings. Regulatory context with instructional embeddings.	Research carried out on various natural resources of the forest.	WE as grassroots research for community benefit; THEY as Iwokrama doing more theoretical research. [+solidarity] and [-knowledge/power] between UF and communities, [+power/knowledge] Iwokrama over communities.
126-142	<b>UF's knowledge used to question imported knowledge.</b>	Commentary, embedded in Account, on knowledge systems with multiple embeddings. Regulatory context projecting interpersonal and instructional.	Potential failings of imported knowledge and mapping.	I as sceptic [+power/knowledge] of communities over Iwokrama and of UF within community.



143-150	<b>Complementarity of knowledges and efforts.</b>	Reflection, embedded in Account, on community role in sustainability projecting Commentary projecting Generalisation. Instructional context embedded in regulatory.	Community research on various non-timber products.	WE as community involved in grassroots research Uncle Fred mixing moral and knowledge power through CAN x3
151-166	<b>Justification of need for local input.</b>	Generalisation on need to work, embedded in Account, with Action embeddings. Regulatory context.	Need for money in order to be sustainable.	Generic YOU for work ethic ending up as WE as community. Imperative. [+moral authority] of UF
167-191	<b>List possible inputs from community.</b>	Recount of recommendations, projecting Plan embedding Generalisation projecting Conjecture. Regulatory context.	Uncle Fred's recommendations for community input into Iwokrama research on traditional activities leading to identification of sustainable markets.	I as advising on interaction between generic YOU of community and and THEY as Iwokrama. CANx4. +[knowledge/power] of UF over communities.
192-201	<b>Summary.</b>	Account of SUA projecting Action. Regulatory context prefaced by instructional.	Activities necessary for Sustainable Utilisation.	YOU = audience, imperatives to answer earlier rhetorical questions. [+power/knowledge] for UF over communities.
202-203	<b>Job done as set out in intro re transfer of knowledge.</b>	Metadiscursive Commentary leading to Prediction/Plan. Interpersonal context.	Community knowledge of and participation in Sustainable Utilisation.	I know YOU understand. [+power/knowledge] for UF over communities.

*Table 7.4. Generic features of Uncle Fred's contribution in Text 7.2 by metafunction.*

In contrast, Uncle Fred does not explain sustainable utilisation either as a self-contained process or through the provision of new information. Instead he seeks to explain what is essentially an alien concept in relation to the existing knowledge and practice of the communities he represents and in terms of its relevance to daily community life, an approach corresponding to the community preference for practice over theory referred to several times above. This approach emphasises the importance of community tradition as a force that has maintained sustainability until now but which is in danger of becoming the contempt born of familiarity. Uncle Fred therefore emphasises that Iwokrama's imported knowledge can be drawn upon to revitalise community practice and, as Simone had before, he stresses the need for cooperation between the two knowledge systems. However, where Simone emphasised the importance of external systems and community participation within a wider Iwokrama-dominated process, Uncle Fred represents



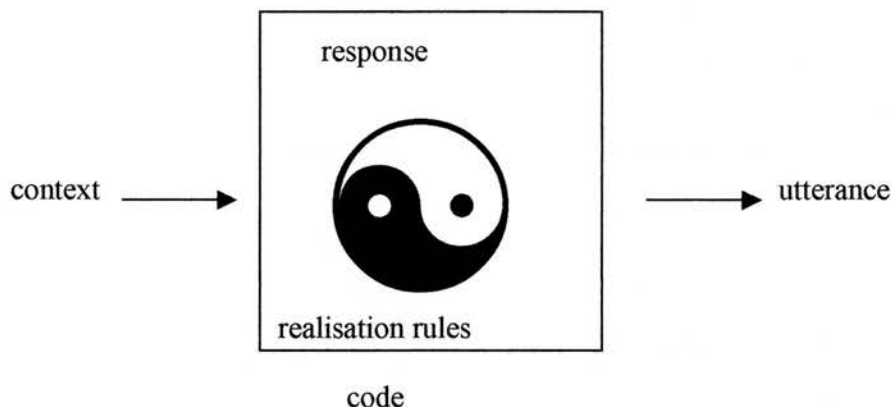
Iwokrama's knowledge as being appropriated into the wider practice of the community in order to reform it (*cf.* Chapter 2 on dynamic systems, communicative rationality and the idea of a *third space*). In these terms collaboration with Iwokrama represents a major shift in community life and practice so that Uncle Fred must draw not only upon his moral authority as community elder in order to sanction such disruption, but also upon the knowledge/power he possesses within each system in order to justify it. Uncle Fred's contribution therefore emphasises the solidarity through common experience on which his moral authority is based, yet distances him with respect to regulatory power within this local realm and knowledge/power in both local and imported terms.

#### 7.4.2. Texts 7.1 and 7.2 in terms of perturbing the status quo.

In terms of bottom-up tensions and the model of language and power developed in Chapter 3, Texts 7.1 and 7.2 represent contrasting generic styles and shifts within register as an aspect of the context as it facilitates and constrains the meaning potential open to following speakers. This is related to the idea, above, of understanding as not just comprehension but also empathy: when William, as Chairman of the NRDDDB, says of local participants that "why they don't contribute is because they do not understand," (Tape 24. Toka. 8/11/00), he is referring not simply to the comprehension of linguistic form, but beyond this to the institutional setting in which this language is embedded and the relevance of both to community life. If participants from the community cannot see a connection between the institutional context in which they are participating and the practice of their everyday lives, they will be unsure of how to contribute to the ongoing discourse which will thus remain within the ideological context of external groups such as Iwokrama.

Returning to the terminology of Chapter 3, it was claimed there that the meaning potential of a situation is the set of possible meanings activated by the context for a specific social agent and that such potential is constrained by the speaker's field of socialisation. In these terms, if there is a congruence between the speaker's field of socialisation and the situation in which they find themselves, the speaker should feel comfortable as, in Bourdieu's terms, their *habitus* (1990a *passim*), their disposition to

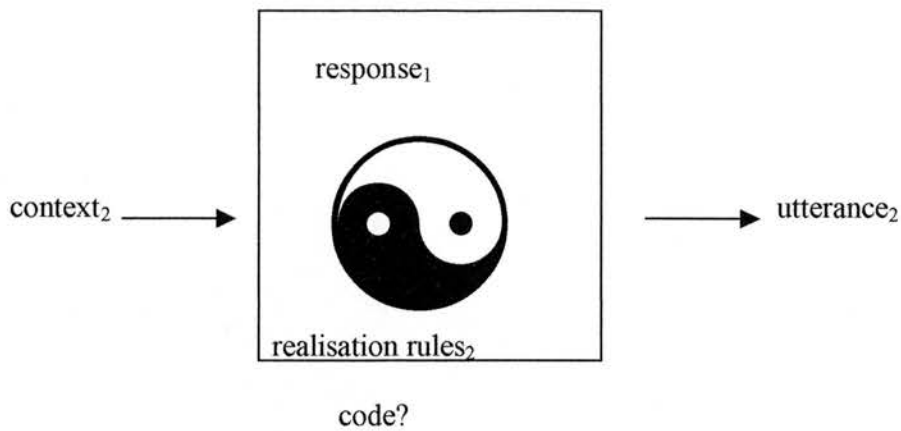
action formed through their socialisation, is matched to the *field* of context (1990a:58). In linguistic terms, a speaker's habitus is their *code*, which instantiates their response to context as utterances according to specific lexicogrammatical realisations rules. Figure 7.4 represents an improbable perfect match between code and context. Code is represented here by the yin and yang symbol to emphasise that utterances are structures in context and that a speaker's code is the conjunction of these two variables. In these terms response and realisation rules are signified and signifier at the level of utterance<sup>6</sup>:



*Figure 7.4. Monocultural context, code and utterance*

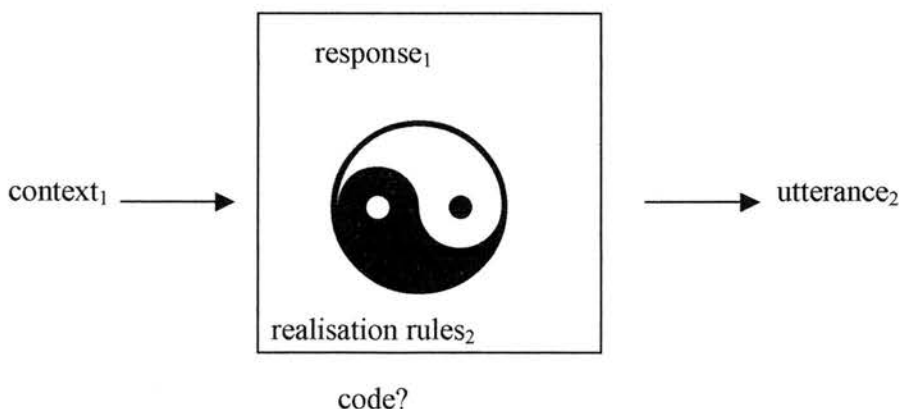
In development discourse, however, there is generally no such congruence between socialisation and field of context for the majority of speakers involved, with the participants from minority cultures frequently finding themselves in contexts for which they have been in no way socialised and in which they experience not ease but a sense of *awe* (as in Text 6.1, above, from the Management Planning Workshop). Professional development workers, in contrast, will have undergone an extensive secondary socialisation into these and similar contexts, as argued in Section 6.1 above.

Figure 7.5 represents the most likely outcome of such a situation, with the minority group having to accommodate their code to the contextual norms of the other. The subscripts refer to cultural norms, with 1 referring to those of the minority group and 2 to those of the majority group. The question of what code can operate effectively in these circumstances is left open, as represented by "Code?":



*Figure 7.5. Intercultural context, code and utterance*

In this scenario, and this is the very context created by Text 7.1, the response of minority speakers, their subject positioning as social agents, is problematic as there is a mismatch between code and context. The strangeness of context means that the “bridging assumptions” that help comprehension in native scripts (Brown and Yule 1983 in Fairclough 1995b:123) are inappropriate and the “expectability of content” (Bremer and Simonot 1996:167) is reduced, hampering both understanding and potential contribution. Moreover, the chosen response must be realised through what for the majority of participants is a foreign language. The potential for genuine participation by the minority group is therefore reduced and the risk of misunderstanding high. However, if the context can be made to approximate more closely to the minority ideology, a compromise can be reached by which discourse remains in the dominant language but which allows for enhanced participation from the minority group, as in Figure 7.6:



*Figure 7.6. Enhanced context, code and utterance*

In this scenario, which corresponds to the context Uncle Fred sets up in relating new concepts to existing knowledge and practice, the awe inspired within the alien context is lessened so that minority groups may more freely and relevantly contribute, and hence localise the context still further.

### **7.5. Conclusion.**

Some months after the NRDDDB Meeting from which these texts were taken, I asked Uncle Fred what he thought were the main differences between his own contribution and Simone's (Tape 41. Surama Rest House. 22/6/02):

*Well, it's just a matter of difference of culture, you see. You see, the people who from Iwokrama, whoever comes, whichever resource person, (xxx) or consultant that comes to give a talk, they come at a professional level... which is far above the local people. Now, there are times you would listen to the presentation and you look at the audience, and you know they ain't get raas [i.e. understand bugger all], you see, what really being thrown out. So this is where I at times interject and ask to say something, and I try to break it down in a simpler Creolese form so that they can understand, and I normally would call some instances in everyday life, so they get a better idea of what really's being said, so they could understand.*

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate the ways in which Uncle Fred relates outside knowledge to community life by drawing on the lexicogrammatical resources of field, tenor and mode in terms of the semantic networks he builds up, the complex of power relations he invokes, and the contextualisation of his discourse within community experience. Relating such practice to the previous chapter, I suggest that William's effective performance as facilitator within the context of the NRDDDB is a function of the ownership of this institution by the community and the complex power relations that exist within it, as instantiated by speakers such as Uncle Fred. This contrasts with his poor performance in an institutional context in which the default mechanism of power was always Iwokrama's external knowledge. However, it would be overzealous to interpret the relationship between these performances in straightforward diachronic fashion as the tensions within discourse are always at once top-down and bottom-up while at any synchronic point multiple interactions of language and power are at work. In these terms

the relationship between novel practice at the level of utterance and the creation of a broader meaning potential at the level of context is an ongoing dynamic.

My final textual analyses focus, in the following chapter, once again on the level of ideology and underlying construals of rights and obligations within the development process. However, the focus is not on the formal construal of opposing ideologies in codified form, as with the Amerindian Act and the NRDDDB Constitution, but on the manifestation of ideological assumptions through the discourse of the participants in the development process on the ground. More specifically, the chapter will examine the power and authority of the different speakers through the linguistic means each employs to set out their own position on the rights and responsibilities of the different groups in the development process. These analyses will thus develop the picture of power and language as neither monolithic nor monodirectional that has emerged in this chapter and the last. This complex notion of power will be drawn upon in the concluding chapter to consider the tensions between discourse systems as a positive condition providing a productive complementarity between the modes of power within the development process.

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<sup>1</sup> These terms are generally employed in a pedagogical context but I think they are equally as applicable, with slight changes in terminology, to contexts such as NRDDDB meetings and workshops which have a clear socialising purpose.

<sup>2</sup> Embedded clauses are full clauses that function as elements within smaller units such as noun groups (*cf.* relative clauses); paratactic clauses function as adjuncts to the main clause; projections are clauses that define the content of wishes, thoughts and desires, etc (*cf.* complement clauses).

<sup>3</sup> These embeddings are also projected by the phrase "We are sure that..." which further complicates matters.

<sup>4</sup> Both structures would fit within a more general structure, following Hasan's (1996 Chapter 3) notation:  $\text{Commentary}^{\wedge}[\text{Account} \bullet \text{Recount}]^{\wedge}[\text{Plan}^{\wedge}(< \text{Reflection} >)]^{\wedge}[(< \text{Account} >)^{\wedge} \text{Recount}]^{\wedge}(\text{Plan})^{\wedge} \text{Commentary}$ . The carat signals fixed order, the black dot reversible order. Angle brackets mean that one element can be spread through another. Round brackets mean that and an element is optional. Square brackets mark off the bounds within which these relations operate.

<sup>5</sup> In the Texts subordinate RUs' are marked as embedded, which implies that they are contained within the main RU as a contributing factor to a greater purpose. It would, however, be more accurate to see them as the main content *projected* by the superordinate RUs in most cases in Uncle Fred's contribution.

<sup>6</sup> I cannot explain the dot of each within the other, I'm afraid, though I'm sure it could be done with a little ingenuity.



## **Chapter Eight. Textual Analysis: A Return to Ideology.**

### **8.1. Complex power relations and spontaneous ideology.**

In Chapter 2 it was suggested that if local communities were to appropriate the knowledge, expertise and ideas of the Government of Guyana and the international development community into their own cultural dynamic rather than having them imposed from above, a discursive *third space* had to be created in which the voices of both local groups and professional development workers were considered as fully legitimate. It was suggested that the best way for this to happen was for the local communities to appropriate the *discursive practices* of the dominant group in order to shift the balance of interpersonal power in development fora away from the external developers and towards the local groups so as to open up a space for dialogue between the two cultural systems. In other words, the assumption was that appropriation of the interpersonal structures of development fora would open up room for the presentation of local representations of reality. In this regard the system of interpersonal relations described in the Amerindian Act was taken as an archetype of dominant relations while the system of relations proposed in the NRDDDB Constitution by the communities of the North Rupununi themselves was taken as offering an emancipatory alternative. Chapters 6 and 7 set out: (i) to demonstrate the extent to which interpersonal roles within discourse were moving away from the constraints of the dominant ideology and in the direction of the NRDDDB Constitution; and (ii) to highlight tensions within discourse resulting from the dynamics between the two ideologies as they coexist in a process of evolution.

However, the analyses undertaken so far have suggested that where community participation has been successful, as judged by local participants, the defining difference is not so much in a change in the balance of competing power systems towards the community speakers as in a complex manipulation of different modes of power according to the perceived needs of the moment. At the level of utterance, Texts 6.2 to 6.6 showed

William in particular employing a range of interpersonal devices to move between stances of solidarity and power with both the local community and professional development workers and so facilitate wider participation. Similarly, Text 7.2, dealing with the level of genre/context, shows Uncle Fred interweaving community and local knowledge systems with interpersonal relations of solidarity and distance to create a complex texture of interpersonal relations that suit his various goals.

These analyses suggest that a discursive third space is not brought about simply by the local communities appropriating the power system of the dominant group, but through the development of a complex system of interpersonal relationships in which each knowledge system and each power base has a role to play and in which these distinct systems can combine to create something new.

In order to gain a greater understanding of the various modes of power operating within the Discourse of Development within the Rupununi, this chapter analyses descriptions of the development process from three key participants, each occupying a very different role within that process, and considers the kind and degree of power they naturally appropriate to themselves, through discourse, with regard to this process. Following the discussion of Whorfian constellations and the relationship between mind, culture and language of Chapter 3, the freely-occurring construals of authority and obligation in the speech of the various participants should reveal the underlying ideologies of the speakers with regard to power relations and their place within them. This is not the monolithic construal of power artificially set out in the 'ideological ideologies' of the Amerindian Act or the NRDDDB Constitution; nor the institutionally constrained performance of interpersonal power in the texts of Chapters 6 and 7; but personal construals of power as revealed in (relatively) free discourse. These spontaneous revelations can be related to the different uses of power considered in Chapters 6 and 7 to sketch a more complex model of emancipatory discourse that can be developed in the final chapter.

The three texts examined are all semi-structured interviews undertaken originally to gather the opinions of a range of informants on the relative responsibilities, powers and

benefits of the different participants within the development process (see Appendix 6 for the interview schedule for these tapes). However, it later occurred to me that the different orientations of the speakers to the ideational content would be as revealing as the content itself in terms of the different ideologies of power that underlie the responses.

The interviews analysed below were with Steve Andries (Tape 31. 28/2/02), Uncle Fred (Tape 33. 6/3/01) and Graham (Tape 34. 24/4/01), a trio seen as representing three complementary positions within the development process: grassroots worker and local activist, community elder with wide experience in local-international relationships, and scientist and professional development worker. I interviewed Steve outside his house as he took a break from work, Uncle Fred outside the Rest House in Surama, and Graham in the resource room of the Iwokrama offices in Georgetown. I had met all three interviewees several times before and all three interviews followed a semi-structured interview schedule in as informal a manner as possible.

The semi-structured interview format is ideal for the analyses below in that it focuses attention on one particularly broad topic and ensures speakers stay close to the same material while allowing each to develop the topic in the direction most important to them. In this respect, I attempted to lead as little as possible in the interviews, preferring to follow the speakers' own directions and to develop these, only returning to the schedule either when the topic had dried up or it was clear that we were no longer discussing the issue in hand even loosely (some interviews took place during the World Cup). While it might be argued that the widely different responses allowed by the semi-structured interview technique create texts that are not directly comparable, it is rather the case that in allowing each interviewee to focus on their own particular conceptualisation of the development process the texts reveal the speakers' appropriations of power on this issue more accurately than would be achieved through either the artificial similarities of fixed interviews or the randomness of totally free and unconnected discourses. Moreover, the analyses themselves compensate for the level of free variation between the texts in that they consider only clauses referring directly to the development process.

However, while I think that such formats are the most suitable in eliciting genuine views, there are obviously still generic structural and interpersonal constraints on the form of the response, especially in terms of perceived relationships of power and solidarity between myself and speakers from both the local communities and Iwokrama. While these effects would in themselves be worth a study, I maintain that a large analysis of linguistic form in semi-structured and informal interviews can be genuinely revealing of speakers' underlying ideologies, particularly when, as in this case, the analyses carried out were not the motivating factors behind the original interview but rather a sideways approach to it.

## **8.2. Methodology.**

The analyses in this chapter focus on different speakers' use of modal and projecting forms in representing development issues and the level of authority each speaker appropriates to themselves as a legitimate voice within the Discourse of Development.

Modality is indicative of power in that it deals with a speaker's orientation to the truth value of propositions or to the degree of obligation carried by proposals. These two facets of modality correspond to the two modes of power identified in the preceding textual analyses: knowledge/power and moral authority respectively. When addressed to an interlocutor in dialogue, the use of modality represents the negotiation of interpersonal power, while in third-person narrative it amounts to a claim to power over the subject matter. To use a modal form is therefore temporarily to appropriate to yourself the right to exercise the corresponding mode of power with respect to your interlocutor or to a particular event; to use particular modalities consistently throughout a discourse is to identify yourself with this power in relation to your interlocutors or within the realms of the subject matter under discussion. It is for these reasons that analysis of modal forms is one of the most consistently employed tools in CDA.

The analyses that follow look at narrative accounts of the development process and so examine the power different speakers appropriate to themselves with respect to that topic.



In such a case, an analysis of modal use even at a low level of delicacy is revealing. For example, if a speaker consistently states that things *should* or *must* or *can* be done within the development process, irrespective of who in particular is called upon to do what, this reveals the level and type of power the speaker considers they hold within this field of discourse, the authority they grant their voice in these matters. While a more delicate analysis that also includes process types and modal objects would undoubtedly reveal much of interest, it is not necessary in this instance to go into the level of detail set out in Chapter 4 as a response to the criticisms of Widdowson and others.

However, as also stated in Chapter 4, modality remains underanalysed in studies of language and power in terms of: (i) the relationship between the modal used and the specific speech act realised; and (ii) the social meaning of the speech act realised within the specific sociocultural context. With regard to the form-function relationship, the lack of delicacy in analysing modal usage was illustrated in Chapter 4 with respect to *MUST*. This tendency is exacerbated by a lack of willingness to go beyond the traditional deontic/epistemic split which sees modals as dealing with obligation or knowledge but not both, an a priori assumption that lumps offers with commands within the deontic category on the one hand and which can lead to the poor analysis of more complex modals such as *SHOULD* (see Bartlett 2000) on the other. In the following example “should” expresses neither a degree of knowledge nor of obligation alone but of something which seems to contain both and more:

*8.1 Taxis from Cardiff should cost no more than £10.*

To me this usage deals with ‘expectations’ as a subcategory of what is ‘appropriate’. These labels avoid a priori divisions of formal logic through the use of more culturally-oriented glosses and so reveal an interplay of knowledge and obligation (“what usually happens is right”) that provides greater analytical insights into the social meaning of *SHOULD*.



While the analyses below employ the supercategories 'possibility' and 'obligation' corresponding roughly to the epistemic/deontic split, these terms allow a degree of variation from the standard labels, so that in my analysis 'permission' becomes a category of its own and uses of *SHOULD* are placed in neither supercategory but within a new category, 'appropriate', instead. Similarly, the more delicate classification introduces distinctions that diffuse the possibility/obligation split and on analysis can problematise it, as with the discussion of *CAN* as "no obstacle" below.

With regard to the social meaning of modality, there is also a particular tendency within critical discourse studies to correlate the high and low force of modals as linguistic items, as with the high obligation of *MUST* or the low probability of *COULD*, with high or low degrees of social power held by speakers. While such a correlation is problematic within its own terms, and is challenged in the analyses below, it also fails to consider different modes of power. In these terms, speakers producing 13 examples of epistemic *MUST* and no examples of its deontic use would be considered as showing the same degree of authority as those producing two epistemic and 11 deontic examples. Such an analysis would clearly miss the important distinction between speakers' knowledge/power and moral authority, for example. The analyses below call into question the correlation of high force/high power in an attempt to uncover a more complex pattern of modal use that tells a more intricate tale of the power relations that exist between speakers.

Three particular problems in the analysis of modal use are therefore: (i) the generalised split into epistemic and deontic uses; (ii) the correlation of high modal force and high power of the speaker; (iii) the failure to differentiate between different types of power behind modal use. The analyses that follow consider each of these three areas.

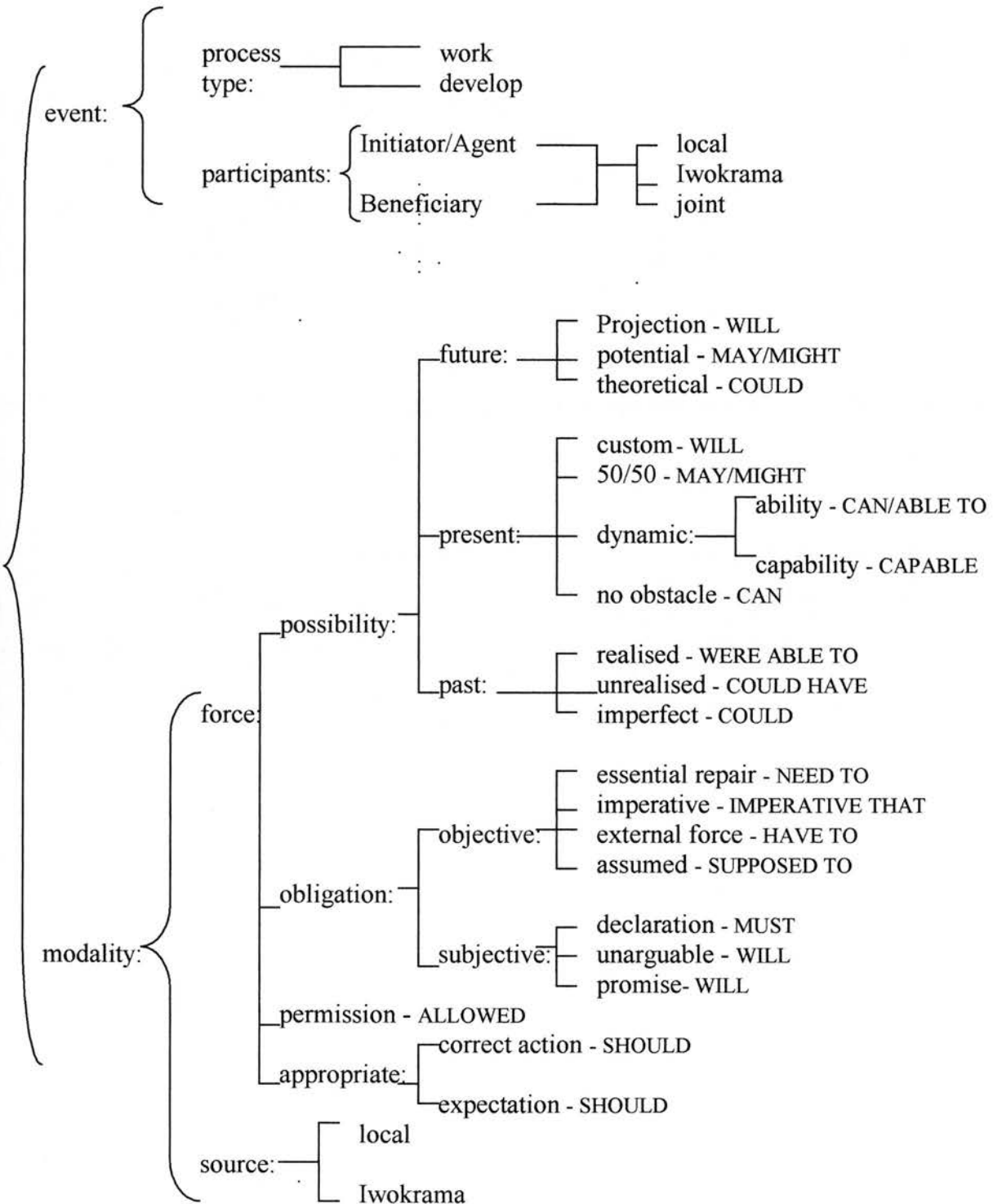
To complement the analysis of modality and to question its assumptions I also analyse the different speakers' use of projections. Whereas modals provide the Finite element that turns a representation into a clause, instantiating the speaker's orientation to the truth or necessity of the ideational content, projections frame the whole clause in terms of the speaker's orientation towards it. The two features are thus close in function and are in

fact often treated as overlapping, as when projections with I THINK are treated as pseudomodals of possibility. Projections in English also have uses not shared with the modals, as in expressions of desire, hope, regret, etc, but it can be seen that these uses also relate to the discursive power speakers appropriate to themselves in terms of the evaluative or judgmental power they demonstrate. An integrated analysis of the use of modals and projections should thus go some way towards meeting my sociological take on the Whorfian criterion, discussed in Chapter 4 above, that “integrated fashions of speaking” (Whorf 1956:158) can reveal not only the cultural history of linguistic groups, but also individual speakers’ conceptualisations and evaluations of specific issues.

### **8.3 Modal analysis.**

As with the analysis of process types in Chapter 5, the first step in the modal analysis was to create a systems network of those modal forms actually occurring within the interviews analysed and their meaning as speech acts in these instances. The grid is given as Figure 8.1. It includes divisions of the modalised processes into the superordinate categories ‘work’ and ‘development’ and includes the participant role Beneficiary, neither of which categorisations are followed up as they were not seen as necessary for the level and type of analysis undertaken.. However, these categories could be usefully exploited in taking this line of research further or as part of a different research question. A textual example of each usage is given in Appendix 7. Full figures for the use of modals by speaker are given in Appendix 8.

In the following analyses particular features will be analysed and their usage compared between the different speakers in order to map the power each appropriates to herself and the meaning this has within the wider system of powers within the Discourse of Development. As stated above, the three speakers are Steve Andries, a farmer and local councillor working at the grassroots; Graham Watkins, development worker and Senior Wildlife Biologist with Iwokrama; and Uncle Fred, community elder strongly tied to the establishment of both Iwokrama and the NRDDB.



*Figure 8.1. Systems Network for the Construal of the Development Process.*

Table 8.1 shows the total number of instances of modalities of possibility, obligation and appropriateness for each speaker. The two final columns add the subdivisions of appropriateness, 'expectation' and 'correct action', to the figures for possibility and obligation in order to provide categories corresponding more closely to epistemic and deontic respectively.

	Total	poss.	as %	oblig.	as %	approp.	as %	poss. + expect. (epistemic)	as %	oblig. + correct (deontic)	as %
SA	63	40	63.5%	20	31.8%	3	4.8%	40	63.5%	23	36.5%
UF	64	34	53.1%	24	37.5%	6	9.4%	34	53.1%	30	46.9%
GW	150 <sup>1</sup>	68	45.3%	52	34.7%	30	20%	69	46%	81	54%

*Table 8.1. Division of modals by superordinates.*

As might be expected given his status as community elder, Uncle Fred uses a considerably higher percentage of obligation modality than Steve, and this difference is increased once their uses of SHOULD are considered. Graham's case is more interesting however, in that his use of obligation modality is a little lower than Uncle Fred's while his use of SHOULD to signal appropriateness is far higher than the use of either of the other speakers. Once Graham's use of SHOULD is included within the standard deontic/epistemic split, his percentage of deontic uses is markedly higher than that of either local speaker. The use of SHOULD to signal correct action is therefore crucial in differentiating Graham's modal use from that of the local speakers, and I shall return to this when analysing other features.

Table 8.2 looks a little more deeply at the use of the major modals of obligation used by the speakers: NEED TO, HAVE TO and MUST.

	Total	NEED TO	as % of total	HAVE TO	as % of total	MUST	as % of total	Other
SA	20	4	20%	11	55%	3	15%	2
UF	24	5	20.8%	12	50%	5	20.8%	2
GW	52	31	59.6%	18	34.6%	0	0%	3

*Table 8.2. Modals of obligation by speaker.*

The first point of interest here is that Graham, who would be considered the most powerful speaker in analyses focusing on his material and educational capital and his role

as gatekeeper between the local communities and international assistance, never signals obligation through MUST, a marker of high subjective obligation and a classic sign of interpersonal power within CDA studies. Secondly, within what can be labelled objective modals, both Steve and Uncle Fred use HAVE TO far more frequently than Graham<sup>2</sup>. This creates a seeming dissonance with the respective uses of the archetypal subjective form MUST: as an expression of the dictates of ‘external force’, HAVE TO is in direct systemic contrast with subjective modality in this regard. Yet Steve and Uncle Fred use both HAVE TO and MUST considerably more than Graham, who has a clear preference within obligation modality for NEED TO, used to indicate shortcomings.

One possibility is that Uncle Fred and Steve are more willing to deal in absolutes than Graham, as both MUST and HAVE TO express high modal force. Moreover, if we consider Graham’s high use of SHOULD, we see that Graham is in no way reluctant to present subjective judgments; it is rather that he tends to phrase them through the suggestion of correct actions rather than as direct fiats. Similarly, NEED TO differs from HAVE TO in that it relies more on human evaluation of shortcomings rather than on external forces and as a result it allows for a greater degree of human agency in accepting or rejecting the proposal. It is thus closer to a suggestion form than HAVE TO.

In sum, then, Graham uses many subjective judgments, though he prefers to steer clear of strong directive forms in favour of suggestions. In contrast, Uncle Fred and Steve use similar numbers of suggestions and directives, though they have a strong tendency towards identifying problems as a result of external forces (through HAVE TO) where Graham sees problems as shortcomings or failings (through NEED TO and SHOULD).

Table 8.3 shows the division of modals of possibility according to time frame.

	Total	Future	as % of total	Present	as % of total	Past	as % of total
SA	40	13	32.5%	23	57.5%	4	10%
UF	34	3	8.8%	29	85.3%	2	5.9%
GW	68	26	38.2%	39	57.4%	3	4.4%

*Table 8.3. Modals of possibility by speaker.*



The contrast in usage in this respect is between Steve and Graham with a sizeable minority of future forms (largely projections with WILL) on the one hand and Uncle Fred with an absolute emphasis on present forms on the other. Looking at these present forms in greater detail there are clearly more delicate differences at work here too, as shown in Table 8.4.

	Total	custom	as % of total	50/50	as % of total	dynamic	as % of total	no obstacle	as % of total
SA	23	2	8.7%	1	4.3%	11	47.8%	9	39.1%
UF	29	0	0%	4	13.8%	6	20.7%	19	65.5%
GW	39	2	5.1%	2	5.1%	20	51.2%	15	38.5%

*Table 8.4. More delicate present possibility.*

Again the major contrast here is between Uncle Fred on the one hand, with his emphasis on CAN to signal 'no obstacle' usage, and Steve and Graham on the other hand with their emphasis on dynamic ability through CAN and ABLE.

For all the speakers, possibility is primarily situated in the present, yet whereas Steve and Graham also make extensive reference to future possibility, Uncle Fred largely avoids such reference. This could be explained if we regard the strong use of future possibility by Steve and Graham in terms of their roles at the cutting edge of development on either side of the local/professional divide, Graham as a research scientist and Steve as a farmer. In this interpretation, there are resonances between the two speakers' expressions of future possibility, their dynamic use of CAN, and their expressions of obligation. Steve's position as a farmer involved directly and personally in development is captured in his conjunction of HAVE TO to identify external obstacles and dynamic CAN to identify the community's abilities in order to project possible outcomes. Similar, but crucially different in some respects, is Graham's position as research scientist and his intense involvement in the social development programme. Graham identifies shortcomings within the existing set-up through NEED TO and suggests solutions to these through SHOULD before mirroring Steve in projecting outcomes based on an assessment of abilities.

A very different picture emerges in the case of Uncle Fred and his overwhelming expression of present possibility and the predominance within this of CAN to express 'no obstacle'. In fact 29.7% of Uncle Fred's *total* modal use in this text is accounted for by this one usage. At the risk of overstating the case, this use of CAN functions as a judgment in both the physical and moral order, stating that something is allowable on the grounds that it is physically possible: it is the *nihil obstat* that simultaneously validates ideational truth and interpersonal acceptability. The following example of CAN (in bold) seems to capture this duality of possibility and permission, but I must stress that not all instances are as clear and that to rely on quantitative linguistic analysis of such tokens alone is an exercise fraught with danger:

*And, er, I think one of the things that we should encourage is to allow them to put it over in Makushi. Even, I mean, they can't read and write, but they have very good memory collection. They **can** put it over in Makushi and people would take notes, we have scribes who take notes and these things.*

'Permitting' processes to go ahead on the grounds that they are theoretically possible therefore simultaneously establishes and manifests Uncle Fred's credentials as an expert voice in matters practical and moral as befits a community elder. It also demonstrates his power over Iwokrama in that his *nihil obstat* is as crucial to their efforts, continued funding and livelihoods as it is to the community. Steve's power relates purely to his local knowledge of the difficulties faced within the communities and their capabilities for dealing with them rather than on any moral authority. However, any unsatisfactory conclusions grassroots activists such as Steve draw between what has to be done, what can be done, and their future projections will also ultimately affect Iwokrama's prospects. Graham's power-base is different again, springing from specific external knowledge that allows him to identify problems within the system and to make suggestions to remedy them. In fact, it is the authority that underlines Graham's external knowledge that allows him to make suggestions rather than declarations.

Examining the different use of what SFL traditionally calls high, median and low force within modality (Halliday 1994:91), the results suggest two challenges to standard CDA

analyses of language and power: that the correlation of high modal force to high status is not as straightforward as suggested, or else the social analyses of power within society underlying such correlations are simplistic. I suggest the truth contains a little bit of both. Table 8.5 shows the force of the different speakers' modal use. Not all modal forms that appear in the texts are included, but only those traditionally labelled for force within SFL. Low obligation is realised by CAN for permission; median obligation by SHOULD of correct action; high obligation by HAVE TO of external force and MUST as a declaration. Low possibility is realised by MAY/MIGHT for 50/50 chances and potential; median possibility by projecting WILL; and high possibility by MUST and HAVE TO, though there are no tokens of these.

	Low			Median			High		
	Oblig.	Poss.	Total	Oblig.	Poss.	Total	Oblig.	Poss.	Total
SA	0	4	4	3	9	12	14	0	14
UF	0	0	0	6	3	9	17	0	17
GW	1	4	5	29	23	51	18	0	18

*Table 8.5. Modal force by speaker.*

A quick look at the table shows that Graham overwhelmingly uses median force while Uncle Fred uses mainly high force and Steve uses high and median roughly equally. However, the low frequencies in this table mean that it is presented more as a counter to the simplistic correlation of high force modal use and high power rather than as robust support for my general line of argument.

The following section turns to the different speakers' use of projections of affection and cognition as they relate to discursive power in order to bring out harmonies and resonances with the analysis of modality and power offered here.

## 8.4 Projection analysis.

Figure 8.2 is the systems network for projections of affection and cognition appearing in the three interviews. A textual example is given for each end term in Appendix 9. Full figures for the tokens produced by each speaker are reproduced in Appendix 10 and the more salient results are discussed below.

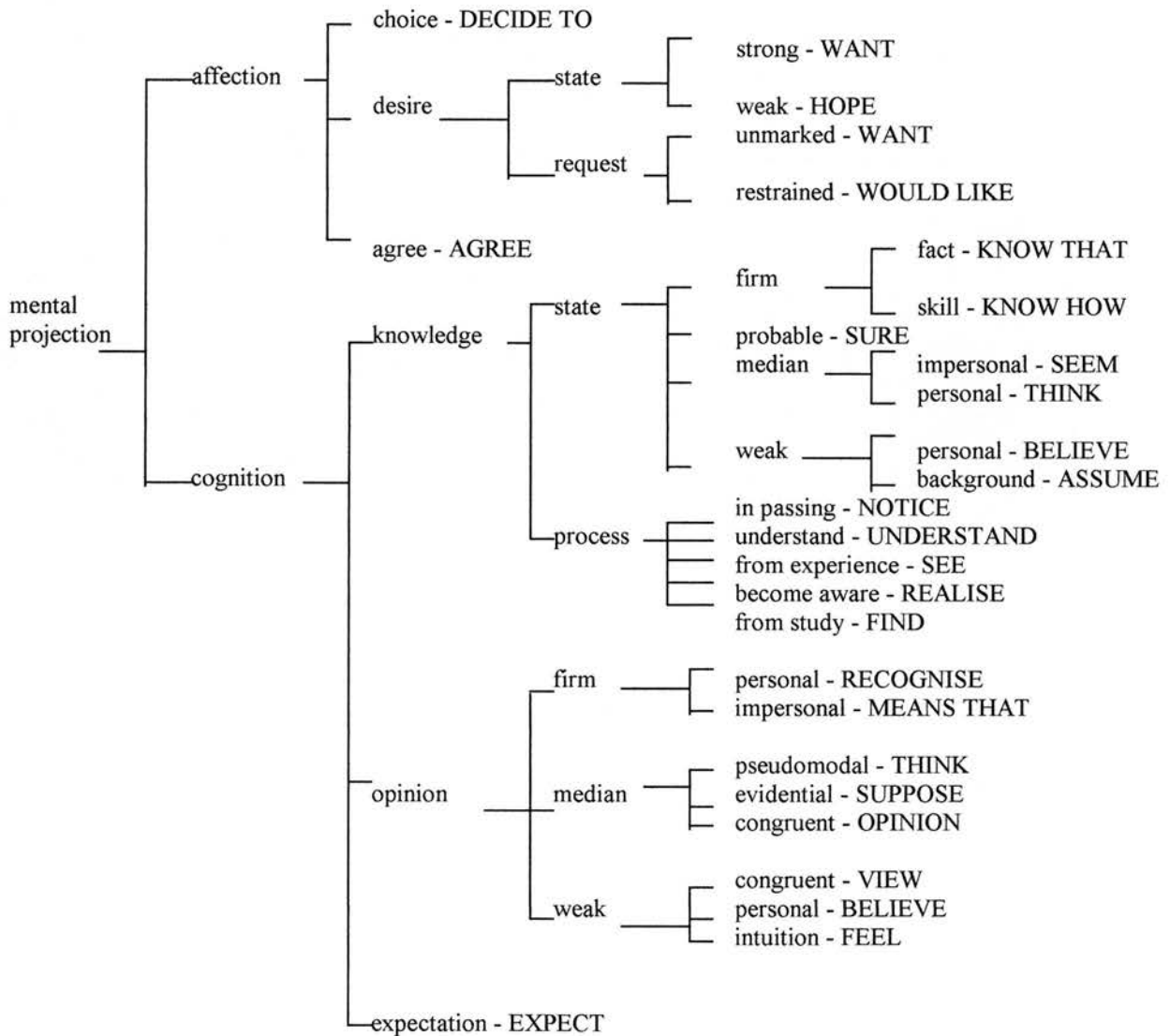


Figure 8.2. Systems network of projections.

Table 8.6, for example, shows the ratio of affection to cognition mental projections for the different speakers.

	Total mental processes	Total affection	as % of mental	Total cognition	as % of mental
SA	24	7	29.2%	17	70.8%
UF	25	5	20%	20	80%
GW	92	16	17.4%	76	82.6%

*Table 8.6. Affection and cognition by speaker.*

The figures here suggest that Steve uses comparatively more affection process types than the other two speakers. As affection covers hopes and desires this would seem an appropriate stance from Steve who, as a farmer, has plenty to ask of the development process without holding a particularly strong personal influence within it. More surprising figures come up in analysing the division of cognition into knowledge and opinion, as in Table 8.7.

	Total cognition	Total knowledge	as % of cognition.	Total opinion	as % of cognition	Total expectation	as % of cog
SA	17	12	70.6%	5	29.4%	0	0%
UF	20	9	45%	7	35%	4	20%
GW	76	28	36.8%	47	61.8%	1	1.3%

*Table 8.7. Subdivision of cognition by speaker.*

The results in this table are initially surprising in that Graham, whose power has been analysed thus far as knowledge-based, shows the lowest ratio of knowledge to opinion. This finding resonates with the figures in Table 8.8, which show that Graham states his views with less force than either of the other two speakers.

	Total knowledge <sup>3</sup> and opinion	Total firm	as %	Total median	as %	Total weak	as %
SA	14	7	50%	5	35.7%	2	14.3%
UF	11	3	27.3%	7	63.6%	1	9.1%
GW	68	15	22.1%	46	67.6%	7	10.3%

*Table 8.8. Force of knowledge and opinions by speaker.*



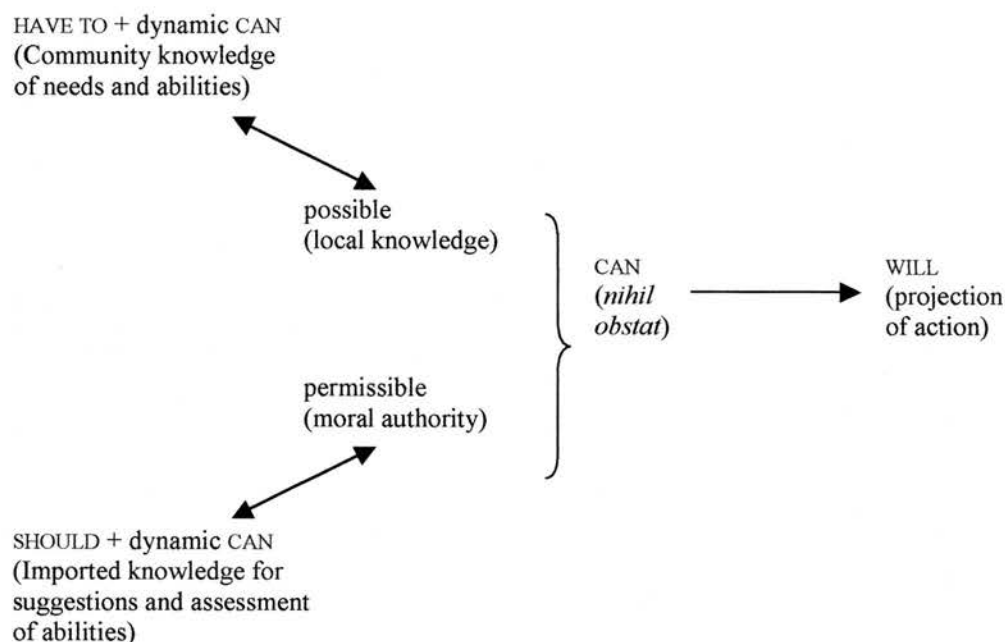
In sum, an analysis of cognitive projections shows that Graham, rather than projecting concepts as known, overwhelmingly gives opinions, the great majority of which are median in force. In fact, 40.2% of all Graham's mental projections, cognitive or affective, express median opinions. Given my previous analysis of Iwokrama's power as being based on knowledge, it might be expected that Graham would deal in facts rather than opinions and in firm opinions rather than weak ones. However, recalling his extensive use of SHOULD to offer suggestions rather than stating firm obligations, it seems possible that the ability to give opinions, and of median rather than strong force, is in fact a result of Graham's knowledge-based power and not a contradiction of it. In this sense, suggestions of appropriateness, as opposed to declarations of obligation, and opinions on states of affairs, as opposed to statements of fact, are very similar speech acts in that they carry force as pronouncements in direct proportion to the power of the speaker. This suggests that projecting ideas as personal opinion is not always a form of hedging that reflects lack of confidence, but might well be related to a strong sense of self-belief: whereas Steve, for example, relies on what he has concrete evidence for, through HAVE TO and KNOW, Graham introduces his own personal views of reality, particularly through SHOULD and THINK clauses. Steve appears, thus, to present realities beyond his control, while Graham is actively negotiating and construing his own.

As we saw above with regard to modality, Uncle Fred is closer to Steve in using HAVE TO and MUST rather than SHOULD, and this was explained in terms of his own distinctive use of modality and his emphasis on CAN. In terms of mental projections Uncle Fred is closer to Graham, suggesting that he can rely on his stature within the community and his mix of local and imported knowledge to give his opinions their due weight. Perhaps more indicative of power is the fact that while Graham presents his own views in a seemingly weaker fashion than do the other speakers, he takes the liberty of presenting the mental projections of others a total of 23 times, something Uncle Fred does only twice and Steve never (see Appendix 10). This would seem to suggest that Graham's knowledge/power not only enables him to present his own version of reality but to construct and present reality as it is for others.

### **8.5 Conclusion: Modals, Projections and Power.**

The analyses of Chapters 6 and 7 suggested that the interplay of power within and between the NRDDDB and Iwokrama is a more complex affair than the shifting of the balance of power from one side to the other as it involves different modes of power appropriate to different participants. This conclusion prompted the analysis of power in this chapter which returned to look again at the ideology of the speakers towards the development process. However, whereas the analysis of the Amerindian Act and the NRDDDB Constitution had focused on the extremely ideological ideologies that these documents set out in ideational terms, the analysis of power in this chapter focused on the interpersonal feature of modality to analyse the different types of discursive power the speakers appropriated to themselves, relatively unselfconsciously, in their descriptions of the development process. The idea was that this would reveal the latent modes of power within the Discourse of Development, modes of power that were appropriate to the respective players and part of existing cultural dynamics and which could therefore be incorporated into the emancipatory model of language and power developed so far.

The analyses of this chapter have suggested that three different, and complex, modes of power were at work in the narratives of the three speakers. At the grassroots end of development is Steve Andries, firmly stating what has to be done in terms of development, analysing the dynamic capabilities of the community and projecting future benefits. At the other extreme, as a professional development worker and certificated scientist, is Graham. Graham, too, considers dynamic capabilities and projects outcomes, but he is also concerned with analysing shortcomings and making suggestions, and his opinions carry weight in proportion to his knowledge/power and the symbolic power derived from it. In the middle is Uncle Fred who, like Steve, draws on local knowledge to state what has to be done. Rather than projecting future results, however, Uncle Fred concentrates on the present in order to define the possible and his CAN simultaneously states what is possible in terms of Steve's HAVE TO and what is permissible in terms of Graham's SHOULD. This interaction of different modes of power is represented in diagrammatic form in Figure 8.3:



*Figure 8.3. Interaction of different modes of power based on analysis of modality and projection.*

In the concluding chapter I draw on and develop this model, bringing together and reinterpreting previous textual analyses in terms of the systemic relations between them and their meaning within the development context of the North Rupununi. Suggestions are then made as to the implications of my findings with respect to: (i) the immediate context of NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse and the Discourse of Development in Guyana; (ii) the wider relationship between development and discourse; and (iii) language education for empowerment in sociocultural and linguistic situations such as that of the North Rupununi.

<sup>1</sup> One instance of permission not included as this fits with none of the categories as set up and contrasted here.

<sup>2</sup> The subjective/objective distinction is not above question, especially in a context such as the Rupununi where English is not the first language. However, the main contrasts analysed here do not rely heavily on this contrast but on those between HAVE TO, NEED TO and SHOULD.

<sup>3</sup> Examples of knowledge as process such as NOTICE are not considered appropriate here as they are as much processes of observation as knowledge.

## **Chapter Nine. Towards an Applied Linguistics of Development.**

### **9.1 Introduction**

In this concluding chapter I relate the textual analyses of Chapters 6 to 8 to the model of language and power developed in Chapter 3 to illustrate the downward constraints of the dominant ideology<sup>1</sup> on language practice within the context of development in the North Rupununi and the upward pressures that perturb this practice as the Makushi ideological system asserts itself within discourse. These opposing forces operate simultaneously at all levels of discourse and the tensions created between them have opened up an embryonic third space within development discourse, a liminal zone where relations between the competing ideologies can be negotiated and the power relations within them recalibrated. In Section 9.2 I suggest that the resultant interplay of these different systems of knowledge and authority represents a new dynamic that might be employed to counterbalance the destabilising effects of modernisation upon the balance of knowledge and authority within the Makushi cultural system, as described in Chapter 2. In Section 9.3 I relate this emerging dynamic to the sociological concerns of Chapters 1 and 2 to demonstrate how such a system of complementary powers represents a form of communicative rationality that respects the traditions of Makushi ideology while drawing on other forms of knowledge and authority to develop it within the modern context.

The remainder of the Chapter looks at the model of power sharing developed and the implications of my research for those involved in development in the North Rupununi and beyond. Section 9.4 considers how my research might be used by the NRDDDB and Iwokrama to encourage and enhance community participation within the local Discourse of Development and Section 9.5 explores possible applications of my research within the wider context of international development. Section 9.6 considers how textual analyses and methods such as mine might be exploited as educational resources: (i) within the school system, to expand and enhance competence in development discourse; (ii) within the context of NRDDDB-Iwokrama collaboration, as the basis of training in language



awareness and alternative practice; (iii) within development agencies, as part of a training programme for those working in similar sociocultural contexts.

## **9.2 Summary of textual analyses.**

In Chapter 3 a model of language and power was developed which suggested that while there may be a downward pressure from dominant ideological systems on discourse practice, it was also possible for capable speakers to alter this practice, and ultimately the ideology behind it, by constantly challenging the accepted means of discourse and by refusing to accept the subject positions set up for them within this discourse. The model suggested that discursive challenges to the prevailing system would come primarily from the level of utterance within the context of situation but that these challenges would expand to the level of text or genre within the context of institution.

The texts in Chapters 6 to 8, taken from the Discourse of Development in the Rupununi, were analysed from the point of view of such a model, on the assumption that there were two different ideological orientations competing for a voice at the various levels of discourse within this wider Discourse. The top-down ideological orientation of the status quo was epitomised by the paternalistic attitude of the Amerindian Act, an attitude that various commentators have also claimed pervades development circles. As a direct contrast to the Amerindian Act, the NRDDDB Constitution was offered as the epitome of a bottom-up ideology of local empowerment. However, it was emphasised that the ideologies set out within the Amerindian Act and the NRDDDB Constitution represented only two extreme variants of the two opposing orientations and that at any one time various degrees of each ideology would be found within the discourse. Similarly, the model of language and power in Chapter 3 was not to be interpreted as purely cyclical. At any one time various top-down constraints will be confronting bottom-up pressures, and changes at each level of the model will be perturbing the level above and facilitating further changes at the level below. There are thus various tensions that exist between the two broad strands of ideology, as revealed in the textual analyses, and these tensions can



be exploited to develop a more emancipatory discourse practice. With these caveats in mind, the following is an attempt to bring together the various analyses in one broad general picture.

At the level of ideology, the paternalistic attitude of the Government of Guyana and the worst of international development thinking sees development in terms of the 'underdeveloped community' attaining the symbolic and material culture with which the developers themselves are most acquainted: what Grillo (1997:22) calls the "ethnocentric affirmation of the West as a scientific, ethical and political model". Such development practitioners adopt a paternalistic relationship of donor versus recipient, educated versus ignorant, actor versus patient, which manifests itself in development discourse through a banking model of instruction in which knowledge is seen as a context-independent and compartmentalised commodity to be passed on as appropriate in order to fulfil predetermined targets and so justify the quota of the aid budget apportioned to the particular project in question. As long-time development worker Chambers puts it (1997:66):

In sum, standard packages meet the needs of bureaucrats, enabling them to exercise authority and control, to set targets, to streamline monitoring and supervision, and to spend their budgets. Meeting these needs leads to pre-set packages and patterns. These packages and patterns then act as carriers, the means by which bureaucratic entities extend their control and imprint their reality on peripheries.

Unfortunately, even enlightened development groups such as Iwokrama can at times be guilty of such practices though, as I have suggested several times above, this can be as a result of structural pressures as much as any paternalistic attitudes of the professionals themselves. These practices have repercussions at all levels of discourse and across the three metafunctions. At the level of text/genre, for example, the analysis of Text 7.1 demonstrated that the interpersonal relationship between Simone and her audience remained that of donor and recipient of new information, which itself was presented through decontextualised language within a field of reference unrelated to community life. At the level of utterance, Simone retained control of both the content and the turn-

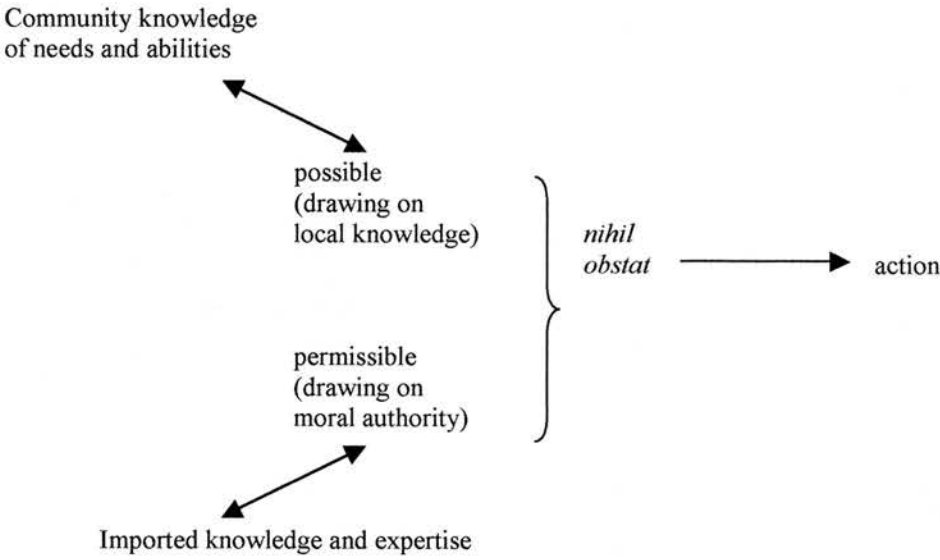
taking structure of the Workshop on Community Management, despite the official status of William as facilitator at the time, and against her own good intentions. In seeming contrast to her use of language in explaining the SUA process to NRDDDB, Simone's language here was overly contextualised in its relation to the workings of the workshop itself. However, in both cases Simone was seen to be dwelling on processes, macro and micro respectively, rather than on community-based issues in their own right, and in each case it is possible to detect pressures to fulfil a preset objective rather than to develop fully the issues being discussed.

Within the institutional context of the NRDDDB, Texts 6.2 to 6.6 demonstrated that local speakers were well capable of controlling discourse from the level of utterance. Ideational and interpersonal resources were combined to presuppose assistance from prominent figures from both the Government and development organisations, while there was particularly striking use of interpersonal resources to control the sequencing of exchanges between local and non-local representatives. However, what was most noticeable in the control of discourse at this level was that local speakers did not manipulate interpersonal resources simply to reverse power relations, but rather used their authority to weave together a joint discourse from the holders of the various sources of power present and redeploy the power balance between the floor and the chair.

This interweaving of different manifestations of power became even more apparent at the level of text with Uncle Fred's explanation, from the floor, of the SUA process. Here Uncle Fred appropriated the surface form of Simone's contribution while creating an entirely different text through his repeated strategy of embedding heavily contextualised language within superficially more distant rhetorical units, enabling him to describe the SUA process in terms of the community's field of experience. Uncle Fred also moved between expressing solidarity with the community's way of life, creating moral distance from them as elder, and demonstrating his grasp of imported knowledge, stances that instantiate local knowledge/power, moral authority and imported knowledge/power respectively. This interpretation led to the conclusion, supported by the analyses of Chapter 6, that within the Discourse of Development there is not so much a state of

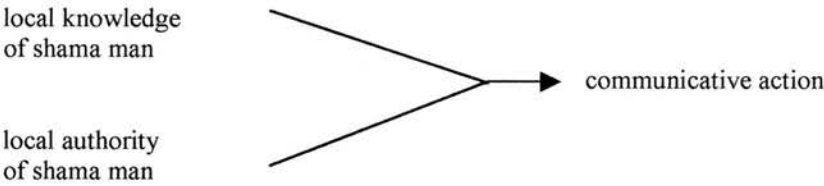
tension between two contrasting ideologies and systems of power but rather a more complex combination of different types of power.

To examine the various manifestations of power from a different angle, Chapter 8 analysed descriptions of the development process from three very differently positioned participants: Steve, a farmer and local councillor working at the grassroots; Graham, a certificated scientist and professional development worker with Iwokrama; and Uncle Fred, community elder and founding father of the NRDDDB and instrumental in the setting up of Iwokrama. The method of analysis assumed that the modal authority adopted by the various speakers over their narrative was indicative of the level and type of power they saw as appropriate to themselves within the process itself. The analyses suggested that Steve was largely concerned with what had to be done and the projected results of this for the community, and this was interpreted as suggesting an emphasis on local knowledge. Conversely, Graham dwelt on the flaws within the process, suggestions for its improvement and on projected results. Again the emphasis was on knowledge/power, but Graham's use of suggestion as opposed to external obligation and his use of weaker modal forms and projected clauses was interpreted as demonstrating the institutional knowledge/power behind his opinions. Radically different was Uncle Fred, who dwelt on the development process in terms of present possibilities for action. It was suggested that this revealed a tendency by Uncle Fred, as a community elder, to pronounce his *nihil obstat* on development themes, a practice which held power over both the community, in terms of the development processes that would go ahead, and over Iwokrama, in terms of authorising their involvement in community and so justifying their place within the development process. I illustrated these analysis by means of Figure 8.3, and Figure 9.1 is a modified version of this:



*Figure 9.1. Modified model of interactions of modes of power.*

To develop this model further I return to the descriptions of Makushi ideology in Chapter 2 and the conjunction of moral authority and knowledge/power in the figure of the shama man, powers that were employed to preserve the material and symbolic culture of the Makushi through the use of myths such as the *kanaima* or mermaids in the lake. This conjunction of knowledge/power and moral authority is depicted in Figure 9.2.



*Figure 9.2. Uncontested knowledge and authority and knowledge of shama man as communicative action.*

However, Chapter 2 also described how the mythology propagated by the shama men had to a large extent been questioned and that as a result their moral authority had diminished. Thus, the ideological system of the Makushi had been ruptured, while no new system had been able to replace or renew it as the incoming ideologies of Government and development agencies attempted to superimpose themselves upon the Makushi culture

rather than be appropriated into the dynamic system. However, combining Figure 9.1, which represents the balance of power evolving within the NRDDb, and Figure 9.2, which represents the former system of communicative action, it is possible to represent a balance of powers by means of which local knowledge, still invaluable despite the collapse of mythology, can be supplemented and combined with imported knowledge, where necessary, so as to create a third-space knowledge system. Chambers (1997:205) says in this respect that the combination of local and scientific knowledge is an example of “both-and” rather than “either-or” thinking”:

The knowledge of local people... has a comparative strength with what is local and observable by eye, changes over time, and matters to people. It has been undervalued and neglected. But recognising and empowering it should not lead to an opposite neglect of scientific [sic] knowledge. Modern science, with its comparative strength with whatever is very large and the very small, has a huge potential part to play in making things better for those who are poor and weak. The key is to know whether, where, and how the two knowledges can be combined, with modern science as servant not master, and serving not those who are central, rich and powerful, but those who are peripheral, poor and weak, so that all gain.

This combined knowledge base, with imported knowledge at the service of local knowledge, must receive the *nihil obstat* of the local elders before it can be translated into action. As Graham Watkins puts it (pers.comm.): “People accept the word of Uncle Fred at the local level, but not the word of the ‘scientist’.” This power dynamic is represented as a model for collaboration Figure 9.3.

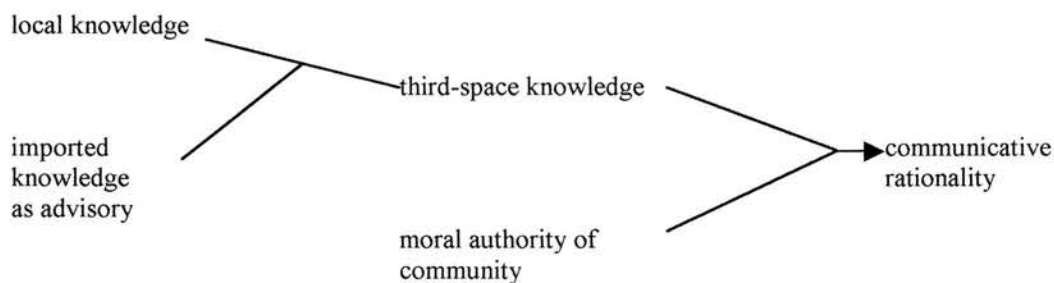


Figure 9.3. Interaction of local and imported knowledge sanctioned by community moral authority as communicative rationality.



The following section shows how this model takes on board the key sociological points raised throughout the thesis and provides a working framework for an emancipatory model of discourse practice in terms of the definition of empowerment in Chapter 2, as simultaneously the ability and right to decide on what course of action to take and to carry out the elected action.

### **9.3 Relation of collaborative model to sociological concepts.**

Chapter 2 revealed the tensions that had existed in both the practice and the discourse of development previous to the efforts of Iwokrama and the NRDDDB to work together. Their coming together and the close collaboration they undertook on rainforest conservation and sustainable community development can thus be seen as the *issue* that brought “the uneven distribution of discursive power into focus” (Martin 1992:581) and which motivated new *couplings* (Lemke 1995:128) of form and content, as witnessed by the texts analysed in the latter half of Chapters 7 and 8. The model in Figure 9.3 attempts to capture and formalise the main trends in this process.

This model relies on the creation of a discursive *third space* where the cultural *difference* of each group is respected, where each is allowed to identify itself on knowledgeable and authoritative terms (Bhabha 1994:34). However, the model does not display the equality that Bhabha’s notion of third space would suggest as it deals with an arena that has far greater consequences for the life of the local community than for external actors. The outcomes of these meetings, if they are to be effective, have to be *appropriated* into the *cultural dynamic* of the local community in such a way as leads to the development of Makushi culture while maintaining its traditional values. For this reason, while the two knowledge systems may interact to create a third, hybrid system, this interaction always relies on external knowledge accommodating to local knowledge and ultimately relies on the moral authority of the local cultural dynamic in order to proceed.

As such the figure is a model of *communicative rationality* as “critical and open-ended” discourse (Cooke 1994:30) which nonetheless defends the integrity of the local system in the face of a banking model of development that often sees modern liberal capitalist democracies as the model for all developing societies. In the model developed here, communities are able to profit from outside expertise through the interplay of different knowledge systems while still maintaining, in terms of their moral authority over the applications of this knowledge, a “space of resistance” to European influence, a “final refuge... the nucleus of indigenous governance”, a space which is “jealously cared for by the indigenous leaders” (Sánchez Gómez 1998:50, quoted in Chapter 2).

The model of empowerment in Chapter 2, seen as entailing both the planning and realisation of action, would imply in discourse terms power over the choice of subject matter to be discussed and ultimate decision-making authority within such discussions, an interpretation that resonates with Chambers’s (1997:156) view of *empowerment* as:

a process in which people, and especially the weaker and poorer, are enabled not just to express and analyse their reality, but to plan and to act... The outputs of the process are enhanced knowledge and capability, an ability to make demands, and action and change.

The model above illustrates community control over planning and the advisory role of imported knowledge and the ultimate role of community in authorising action.

The following section examines what such a model of discourse would entail in terms of NRDDDB-Iwokrama collaboration and makes some suggestions for its application in practice.

#### **9.4 Implications of the model for NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse.**

Before discussing applications of the above model in practice it is important to reemphasise here that the model is not to be taken as perfect or complete in terms either of existing development discourse or of an ideal practice. Rather, it fits somewhere between the two, as a working model of emancipatory discourse, at a fairly vague level, drawn from the analysis of (a limited number of) genuine and situated texts. It is thus a model for praxis, to be developed and modified in use. By the same token, the model does not claim to have revealed the workings of ideology behind the old system and to have replaced them with non-ideological practice. All systems are ideological<sup>2</sup>, and the model is put forward as appropriate to the ideology of development espoused in Chapter 2.

The following suggestions must be tentative as they are not made in discussion with the various participating groups but represent what I consider the most relevant findings of my analyses and what I would take with me into any discussions on improving communications within the Discourse of Development in the North Rupununi.

##### **9.4.1 NRDDDB Meetings.**

The ideology of development I have espoused in this thesis emphasises the need for effective communication between local communities, professional development workers and local authorities, within appropriate institutional settings and through appropriate generic formats. NRDDDB meetings are thus particularly precious spaces in that they can bring together, if only briefly, this specific mix of participants and facilitate the interplay between the various powers they possess. However, NRDDDB meetings are extremely costly for all parties involved: Government officials and Iwokrama representatives have to be transported into the Interior and accommodated and transport arranged for the local participants who have to give up time on their farms to attend. These meetings should therefore be exploited to their fullest potential, and I suggest there are four principal steps

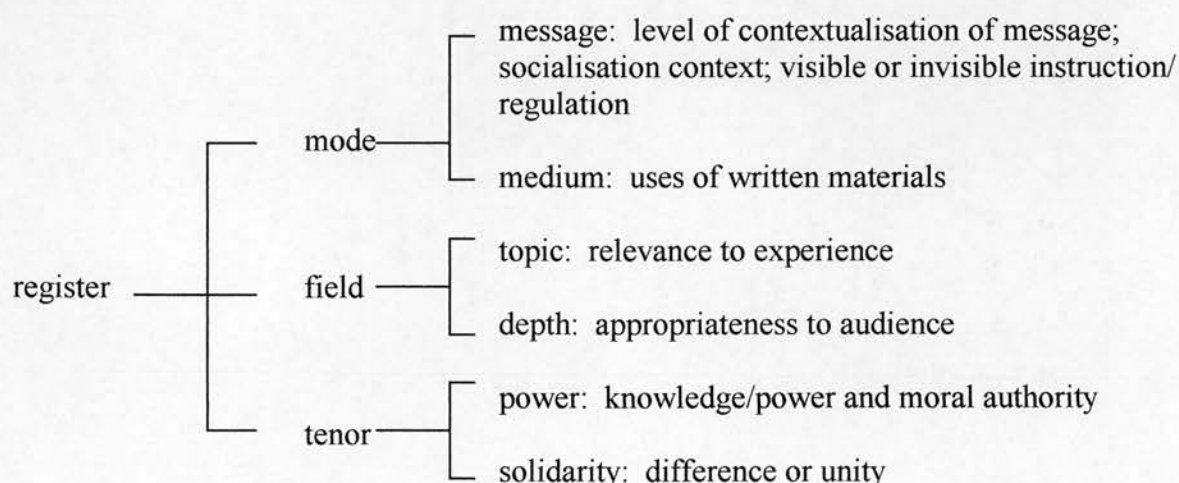
in maximising the limited resources available for the meetings: a limited agenda; the right mix of participants to deal with this specific agenda; the appropriate use of discourse in terms of the participants present and the topic under discussion; and the enabling of participants to fulfil their appropriate roles in terms of the knowledge and authority they bring to the meetings. Briefly, rather than scheduling these and similar meetings in terms of specific content and a strict process to be adhered to, the organisers' time would be better employed ensuring that the appropriate participants are present and that mechanisms are developed to facilitate the interaction of the different types of power involved in their own way and at their own pace.

In terms of discourse, the most effective use of the human resources uniquely available at NRDDDB meetings is in discussing community plans for and concerns over development; how such issues fit into the wider scheme of things; and how and whether external expertise or Government authority might facilitate these plans or resolve these concerns. While there are many other aspects to discourse within the development process, such as the reporting of activities and the exchange of knowledge and training, scarce NRDDDB time would be better utilised if these could be absorbed elsewhere within a wider system of communication. During my last few visits, the meetings had become overburdened with reports from each village, from various committees, and from the Community Environment Workers (CEWs). Such activities do not utilise the humans resources present at the meeting yet take up a great deal of time. It also means that people are coming and going from the meeting in such a way that the appropriate participants are not always present during important discussions.

With regard to attendance by the appropriate people, it is essential that those with local and imported knowledge of the topics to be debated at that particular meeting be represented properly while those who carry the moral authority of the communities with them into the meeting, and who authorise NRDDDB activities back in the community, are also present. Similarly, Government officials who can either offer expert advice or provide official authority for action should also be present. Different issues will thus require very different mixes of participants from the local community, Iwokrama, and the

Government of Guyana. It also might be advisable for various participants to be absent under certain circumstances so as to avoid conflicts of power that inhibit the proper functioning of the different modes of power. This could mean setting aside part of the day for discussion amongst a subgroup of those present or the holding of parallel sessions. For example, at a particular level of meeting where touchaus are seen as the carriers of moral authority, it might be necessary to ensure that there is no-one present with a conflicting and potentially overpowering authority. This was the thinking behind the original division of the meeting into local and Iwokrama days and the prohibition on non-local participants attending the former meeting.

Having the correct mix of participants does not in itself guarantee that a communicative event will prove successful, however: it is also essential to maximise the potential of the discourse, suiting the language used to the topic in hand and the interpersonal relations between participants. Drawing on the analyses from the previous chapters and the model of language and power in Chapter 3, I would suggest that it is necessary to consider the various modes of power in operation and the relationship between these and the registerial variables of discourse in order to plan the siting and format of the event. Those aspects of register that have proven most salient in the textual analysis so far are listed by metafunction in Figure 9.4:



*Figure 9.4 Registerial components to be considered for each communicative event.*



The first point to stress is that in all cases these categories apply with respect to each group in the development process, so that depth of field can relate as much to a depth of local knowledge that might be beyond outside understanding as to an inappropriate depth of imported knowledge.

Secondly, the effects of the registerial variables on discourse are not discrete, and the textual analyses have already demonstrated the rich possibilities involved in combining various manifestations of power and solidarity and the different effects these have depending on the bearer and the subject matter under discussion. Uncle Fred, for example, demonstrated his moral authority as a community elder by combining [-solidarity] with [+power] when talking of the community way of life.

Moreover, it is often the case that while the appropriate community participants are present at the meetings they are not able to contribute fully to the meetings owing to a mixture of lack of competence in English, unfamiliarity with the format and language of institutional settings, and the awe such settings inspire in them (as suggested by Text 6.1). I am thinking particularly here of the *touchaus*, who carry not only the moral authority of their individual communities but a great deal of local knowledge, yet of whom William (Tape 24. Toka. 8/11/00, quoted in Chapter 2) says “Why they don’t contribute is because they do not understand”. Uncle Fred (Tape 33, Surama Rest House, 6/3/01, quoted in Chapter 2) says:

*Well, I would want to see the captains [touchaus] support the NRDDDB more in word and in deed, and come up with more ideas of development. You have to develop. [...] And they’ll have to start thinking about planning, start forgetting about depending on other people to make decisions.*

If these *touchaus* and other local participants are to contribute fully to NRDDDB meetings, certain measures will have to be taken to facilitate this. This involves not only the careful consideration of discourse mechanisms within meetings, but also the *touchaus*’ preparation for these meetings and the means for them to take feedback into the community. These issues are discussed further in Section 9.4.2.1, below. In the longer

term, the possibility of focusing on development discourse within English-language teaching will be considered in section 9.6.

In terms of enhancing participation during NRDDDB meetings themselves, organisers and more able participants could usefully consider the following question when preparing the meetings and while they themselves are presenting: *Who is disempowered by this process and why? Conversely, who is overempowered?* In considering this question, the following should be borne in mind:

- a) What is the format of the discourse event in terms of the exchange of contributions and who has short-term control over this format and who has ultimate control?;
- b) Is it possible to dissolve or at least redeploy the distinction between floor and chair, as witnessed in the texts, to create greater room for intervention from participants; to remove awe from the setting; and to facilitate the flow of various modes of power from the different participants? In these terms the division of NRDDDB meetings into community and Iwokrama days should be rethought: Is it a useful distribution of the workload? Does it suggest or even promote too much of a floor/chair divide? Does it inhibit the interweaving of different modes of power in terms of knowledge and authority?
- c) Could some of the material be dealt with in submeetings that would temporarily realign the balance of powers as appropriate to the matters under discussion?
- d) Are presentations understandable in terms of both: (i) comprehension, i.e. the complexity of lexicogrammatical structures used; (ii) empathy, i.e. does the subject matter relate to the experiences of those to whom it is addressed?
- e) How can the format of the institution be modified to positively encourage the appropriate participation of those who currently underrepresent themselves?

- f) What use can be made of Makushi within meetings? Some possibilities are: simultaneous translation; précis translation; prediscussion of issues in groups; discussion in groups after presentations. Also possible would be presentation in Makushi with either simultaneous or précis translation into English. The method chosen need not be used throughout but should relate to the topic under discussion and the English competence of those particularly involved.

In sum, and where possible, development organisations such as Iwokrama should be guided by their understanding of the bottom-up processes that are taking place around them and not be led by the top-down ideological constraints of distant, centralised and universalising bureaucracies with their own agendas to fulfil.

#### 9.4.2 Beyond NRDDDB Meetings.

The process of empowerment stretches beyond the NRDDDB meetings themselves and we can extend Canagarajah's description of the *relative autonomy* of classrooms as "social and cultural domains unto themselves" yet "interlinked with the world outside" (Canagarajah 1993 in Pennycook 2001:117) to cover institutional settings such as NRDDDB meetings. In these terms it is necessary to consider: (i) the NRDDDB meetings within a wider system of communicative events; and (ii) the effect of these events within wider society. I consider first the possibility of a wider network of communications which extends throughout the Makushi communities and the structures of Iwokrama.

##### *9.4.2.1 A network of communicative events.*

When first I approached Iwokrama regarding my fieldwork, their suggestion was that I look at the transmission of information as it passed down a chain of communication in a straight line from Iwokrama to the general population, via the CEWs. This system was

not fulfilling expectations at that time. In the light of my research and the analysis in this thesis I think that any viable system of communicative events would have to differ from this original approach in three crucial and interrelated respects: firstly, the flow of information should not and cannot move only in one direction, from Iwokrama through NRDDDB and the CEWs into the community; secondly, communications should not be viewed in terms of a chain but rather as a network of communicative fora and events; and thirdly, there needs to be a devolution of discourse whereby specific issues can be discussed at the level and place appropriate to them within the network.

Each event or forum within this network would have to be designed according to its own specific purpose, but with an eye to its place within the system. This includes a consideration of both the topics to be covered and the knowledge and authority of the participants. The system could be used to ensure that key issues are discussed and understood before they reach the NRDDDB so that touchaus are prepared and better able to contribute there and bring with them the voice of their communities. Similarly, there should be a specific mechanism through which the touchaus can pass on feedback and new information once they return to their communities. These different events should reflect the different roles the touchaus play at NRDDDB and as leading members of their own communities.

Several aspects of the suggested system are already in place, as with the exchange of local and imported knowledge through practical fieldtrips and tours by NRDDDB members throughout the region to share information at a relatively informal level. However, each of these events is serving its own purpose in semi-isolation, and unless they are adopted into a wider communicative system some of that purpose will be lost.

The system of communicative events brings to mind Lemke's proposal (in Martin 1997:14) to analyse genres from a topological perspective, comparing and contrasting genres according to a range of similarities and differences across a variety of parameters in order to understand the functional role of the structural similarities between them. However, whereas Lemke's descriptive approach takes as its defining parameters the

structural aspects of the genres under study, in the practical case of NRDDDB-Iwokrama communications it would be the distribution of contextual variables throughout the system that was most relevant, principally in terms of the complex interplay within and between interpersonal relations and subject matter.

A necessary consideration in such a system is that there be a thread of continuity that guarantees some level of intercommunication between the various fora. This would be facilitated if both the NRDDDB and Iwokrama were to establish a permanent presence within the community. Permanent representatives could also deal with less complex issues, including some presently dealt with in NRDDDB meetings, on a more day-to-day basis. It is important to have a presence that can be called upon as needed without having to arrange movements from the coast to the interior. Such a presence can play a role in those aspects of business where low power and high solidarity are most valued. The power relations set up when Iwokrama and Government personnel are flown into the region for meetings and then flown back out again are clearly not conducive to such a relationship (though Iwokrama representatives such as Janette, for example, do use their time in the community to cultivate friendships built up over many years). At present neither group has a continuous institutional presence, although the Bina Hill Institute is designed for just such a purpose. Iwokrama has no plans to relocate from Georgetown to the Rupununi or to set up a permanent presence in the area.

#### *9.4.2.2 The effect on wider society.*

During NRDDDB meetings the Bina Hill Institute becomes a liminal space (Rampton 1995:19-20), a border area where the various groups can put up for negotiation certain aspects of their culture and recalibrate their interpersonal relations in ways that would be inconceivable outside these spaces. Yet Canagarajah's notion of semi-autonomous events suggests that the very act of negotiating these areas and the means by which they are negotiated will have effects on the world outside as the symbolic capital gained by each participant and attached to each cultural system within the discursive process carries



on into wider society. In the terms of field and habitus, while the fora may at present represent alien fields of context for most of the participants involved, over time they will form part of the field of secondary socialisation and this will have repercussions beyond the semi-autonomy of the institutions themselves. Duff and Uchida (1997:452 in Pennycook 2001:147) describe this process with respect to the classroom but in terms that can be transposed to the Institute:

Sociocultural identities and ideologies are not static, deterministic constructs that EFL teachers and students bring to the classroom and then take away unchanged at the end of the lesson or course... Nor are they simply dictated by membership in a large social, cultural or linguistic group... Rather, in educational practice as in other facets of social life, identities and beliefs are co-constructed, negotiated and transformed on an ongoing basis by means of language.

In other words, it is not only the course of action approved in meetings that has effects on wider society: interpersonal relations and modes of discourse will also redound upon community life and it is important to consider how these can be beneficially appropriated, once this liminal space has been left, into the *dynamic system* of Makushi culture. In interpersonal terms this means looking at the effect NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse has on the existing power relations within and between the communities and between the communities and Government representatives. In ideational terms it means considering how the knowledge propagated within NRDDDB meetings will affect the indigenous knowledge base: whether the two systems can be made complementary or whether there is a zero-sum involved; and what are the effects of empowering particular participants over others in terms of power/knowledge. In textual terms, questions arise as to whether the instructional methods of 'new' participants such as the CEWs are compatible with existing community practice or whether they create the following scenario, described by Eugene (Tape 40, NRDDDB Meeting, Yakarinta, 19/1/02; quoted in Chapter 2):

*But you see how we've done... what we've done with the CEW programme, we have made it formal, we've made it more a western system, so that is what you get: You've asked for this, and the people give you... they work for twelve hours, they give you twelve hours' support and that's it.*

### **9.5 Implications for discourse within development practice in general.**

In this section I consider how the specific findings of a case study such as this can be adopted within a more general framework of participatory development practice. The wholesale translation of situated practice is a common strategy in much current development practice, and one which I have criticised within this thesis (*cf.* Chambers 1997:67). However, it is not unreasonable to assume that at some level the methods I have employed here can be adapted to sociocultural situations similar to the Rupununi and that the findings of my analyses might shed some light on the complexities of knowledge and authority within these contexts and motivate similar analyses appropriate to these situations.

One finding of my work that is surely generalisable is the notion that professional development workers, even when they very deliberately take a back seat, are by definition in a position of power with respect to the people they work with and their influence will continue to be felt throughout the discourse. This might not be, and in fact very likely is not, a straight relationship of dominant and dominated, yet it will have repercussions on discourse between developers and local communities no matter how amicable they consider their relationship and no matter how neutral the setting appears to be. This was illustrated above in Text 6.1 where Simone inadvertently regained control over the discourse after very deliberately setting up William in the role of facilitator.

Apart from the issue of personal control, this should also demonstrate that institutional constraints operate on discourse: constraints that may be invisible to the development worker who has been socialised into such institutional formats and considers them natural, but which loom over those speakers unaccustomed to such institutional conventions. Chambers (1997:117) advocates a facilitative and progressive approach to information finding through the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) technique, “handing over the stick, chalk or pen, enabling local people to be the analysts... researchers, historians, planners and actors”, yet the evidence here supports Poittier’s (1997:221-222) less enthusiastic evaluation that “whatever the PRA pundits say about relaxed settings,

participatory workshops are structured encounters marked by hidden agendas and strategic manoeuvres". Assuming that well-intentioned development workers do not deliberately deploy such strategic manoeuvres, it would be useful to make them aware of their inevitability so that they might plan and evaluate communicative events appropriately. Examining and discussing the institutional constraints on discourse and the breakdown of community control in certain fora through the analysis of texts would be one way of raising awareness of these issues and developing more participatory approaches. The issue of training development workers in Critical Language Awareness (CLA) is taken up in Section 9.6.

However, while development workers should be aware of the latent influence of their own power, they should also be aware that their prestige operates within a complex interplay of power relations, as was illustrated in various analyses above. Chambers (1997:59) recognises that there are different forms of power within development, but in confining his analysis to different sources of power within seemingly straightforward powerful/powerless dyads such as male/female, high-caste/low-caste rather than looking at different areas of control and different functions of power he misses much of the richness revealed in the analyses above. It should be possible to use the methodology of this thesis to identify different types of power within development settings; the holders of these different powers; how these powers are currently employed in discourse; and how they might play a part in future 'third-space discourse' that draws on and develops the interrelations between them.

One of the central concerns of this thesis, and one which takes in concepts of power, was that it is not only the ideational content of development discourse that has repercussions within the local community: the temporary interpersonal relationships set up in the liminal space of such fora and the methods of instruction and regulation employed there will also carry over, in some way, into the community. Professional development workers should therefore be aware of the repercussions of their practice in the terms of the three-level metafunctional model of language and power. Conversely, it is also essential that development workers see how their own discourse practice is not neutral

but prompted by pressures at the level of ideology. In other words, development workers should be aware that intercultural development discourse is not just talk *about* practice but is ideally a form of third-space practice in its own right. As such, development discourse should be guided by a code of practice just as much as more concrete interventions. Chambers (1997:108) sets out five key “normative ideas” for such a code within a PRA practice that is “reflective and committed to equity, challenging established ideas and interests”. The five normative ideas are:

- (1) that professionals should reflect critically on their concepts, values, behaviours and methods;
- (2) that they should learn through engagement and committed action;
- (3) that they have roles as convenors, catalysts and facilitators;
- (4) that the weak and marginalised can and should be empowered; and
- (5) that poor people can and should do much of their own investigation, analysis and planning.

The following section considers how these ideas might be fostered within the NRDDDB, professional development organisations, and the community at large through educational and training programmes.

### **9.6 Implications for pedagogical practice and training methods.**

At the beginning of this thesis it was suggested that one of the principal requirements for development to foster transformative empowerment was that local communities had a greater voice within what at the macro-level was called the Discourse of Development, and that this entailed enabling a greater quantity and quality of community performance in discourse at the micro level. However, drawing on Halliday’s notion of language as a social semiotic it was also claimed that professional development workers would maintain an advantage over community participants in such fora, not just because they were often native speakers of English and generally more socialised into the discourse

strategies of development talk, but also because the use of English brings with it the cultural values embedded in the language while these values increase in symbolic capital through the very process of being used in prestigious fora.

Nonetheless, the analyses of Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrated that hybrid structures were emerging within the institutional genres of development and it was suggested that these could be drawn on to further develop a community voice appropriate to development fora that also acts as a vector of the cultural values of the local community. This final section discusses how the formal study of hybrid genres such as these might be used to promote Chambers's code of conduct: (i) within a transformative curriculum for second-language teaching; (ii) as a basis for further developing intercultural communication between the NRDDDB and Iwokrama; (iii) as part of a training programme for professional development workers. Before turning to these specific cases I consider the arguments for and against genre-based language instruction within social contexts such as the North Rupununi.

#### 9.6.1 Fostering a community voice within development discourse.

Given that the principal goal of this thesis is to help foster a community voice within the Discourse of Development, it would seem appropriate to turn to a method of language teaching that, as one strand within a wider curriculum, explicitly focuses on the generic structure of the various communicative fora and events that make up this Discourse as one step towards the empowerment of local communities. The common-sense basis of this argument is apparent in Smiljka Gee's (1997:39) claim that it is simply sound pedagogic practice to teach learners what they need to know. Paltridge (2001:3) makes the case for genre-based teaching in this respect in that:

Genres provide ways for responding to recurring communicative situations. They further provide a frame that enables individuals to orient to and interpret particular communicative events. Making this genre knowledge explicit can provide language learners with the knowledge and skills they need to communicate successfully in particular discourse communities. It can also provide learners with access to socially powerful forms of language.



Many other authors have drawn attention to the advantages of familiarising students with recurring contexts as frameworks or scripts. Bremer and Simonot (1996:167ff) and Roberts (1996:21) talk of raising the 'expectability of the content', thus facilitating 'top-down' interpretation strategies, which García and Otheguy (1989:4) suggest are the norm in second-language situations. One role of language teaching is thus to demystify scripts from outside institutions and accustom students to them. Similarly, Fairclough (1995b:123) refers to the 'bridging assumptions' possible when scripts are known and Kohonen (1992:20-21) claims that knowledge of scripts frees up the lower-level cognitive abilities necessary for 'bottom-up' strategies. Norton (2000:123) claims that the reduced anxiety levels in familiar situations will enhance performance.

On a more political note, emphasising the empowerment aspect of such familiarity and echoing the earlier discussion on standard languages in education, Rose (1999:222) states that "while indigenous communities are concerned to transmit their traditional cultures and languages to their children, most see the crucial role of primary schooling as providing the English literacy skills needed for educational success". He quotes how one parent sums this up: "My kids know how to be Black - you all teach them how to be successful in the white man's world." This is certainly an attitude I encountered many times in Guyana as part of my work with the Wapishana Literacy Association, an organisation in favour of increased provision for bilingual education in the South Rupununi.

Rose argues for a genre-based approach to literacy that provides access to powerful discourses for marginalised communities, and many other educators follow this line, going as far as to argue that "not teaching genres of power is socially irresponsible in that already disadvantaged students from non-English speaking backgrounds are especially disadvantaged by programmes that do not address those issues" (Paltridge 2001:8). Rose (1997:225) further argues for a highly visible pedagogy (explicitly signposted and scaffolded) on the grounds that children from marginalised backgrounds experience the

type of mismatch of code and field described in Chapter 3 both in terms of the generic forms to be learned and the non-explicit language of teaching these genres:

Indigenous students in particular are excluded by invisible pedagogies from accessing school discourses. The discursive experience that most young indigenous children bring to school does not include the same orientation to decontextualised meanings that middle-class Western families inculcate... What is required is an approach to language pedagogy that makes the realisations of decontextualised discourses visible to indigenous children. These realisations include both the language features of the written [in this case oral] texts they are engaging with, and the patterns of teacher-learner interaction around these language features.

Delpit (1995:25 in Pennycook 2001:96) sums up the case for such direct methods: “If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier.”

Such a genre-based approach to second-language teaching also has particularly pedagogic advantages in that it goes beyond the level of notions and functions and on to larger units as a basis for language-learning programmes (Paltridge 2001:3). The genre-based approach thus has greater scope than these methods for the teaching of contextualised communicative purposes and allows for greater correlations to be drawn between linguistic features and the social circumstances of their production.

The explicit genre-based approach corresponds with the theory of language and empowerment here in its emphasis on empowering local voices within the dominant discourses that affect the daily lives of local communities; its awareness of the mismatch between the codes of disadvantaged groups and the language used in the classroom; and in its emphasis on the relation between language and society at all levels, linking lexicogrammar, context and ideology in a way that seems to parallel the model of language and power from Chapter 3. However, it is exactly the explicit and detailed description of the language features of specific genres that causes problems for other commentators.

Luke (1996:333-334), for example, argues against a visible pedagogy that deconstructs texts in order to subject them to an “increasingly fine-grained synchronic analysis” but that fails to “situate, critique, interrogate, and transform these texts, their discourses and their institutional sites”. With such an approach, Luke argues that:

we risk ‘renaturalising’ these texts - coming back full circle to enshrining, reproducing and making invisible their bases in conflict, power and difference. To do so is to place these ‘genres’, their teaching and reproduction in classrooms, workplaces and bureaucracies beyond criticism - to represent them as essential and compellingly functional, but not political or ideological.

In other words, Luke is claiming that making genres visible as teaching aids runs the risk of rendering them invisible as manifestations of ideology and his point of view also has resonances with the discussion of empowerment and the model of language and power in this thesis. His concern with the reproduction of dominant ideological values through the reproduction of generic form corresponds exactly with the notion of power behind language in Chapter 3. Beyond this, the unchallenged continuity of these generic forms through reproduction means that for the uninitiated majority within the marginalised community there will remain a mismatch of code and context. In this case the approach advocated by Rose and others (or rather Luke’s analysis of it<sup>3</sup>) would lead to the kind of individual empowerment rejected above. Similarly, it is worth recalling Hornberger and López’s (1998:208, quoted in Chapter 3) descriptions of Spanish education within the Andes and how “although... only a small percentage of the population attains social advancement through formal education, [both] schooling, and the Spanish language with which it is identified, are nevertheless perceived as the route to social mobility”. It might well be assumed, then, that a reproductive approach to genre within a context such as the Rupununi would also fail to adequately empower many, despite the demands of the marginalised themselves for such education.

What is needed then is a pedagogical model that focuses on the very important concerns of Rose and others with the immediate needs of marginalised communities yet takes on board the criticisms of Luke with regard to the dangers of reproducing the very structures

of power that these educators are attempting to overcome. The most obvious solution in this respect is that Rose's deconstruction/reconstruction approach need not leave the texts unsituated, uncritiqued and uninterrogated. As Cope and Kalantzis put it (1993:86 in Pennycook 2001:97):

An explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access does not involve unproblematically telling students how to use genres for prescribed social purposes. It operates with a degree of critical distance so that, simultaneous with analysing the linguistic technology of genre, students relate the form of the text critically to its purposes - its culture and the human interests it serves.

In Similar vein, Swales (1993 in Paltridge 2001:6) states considers that "genre analysts need to go beyond the text and incorporate ethnographic and informed 'insiders' views' into their genre-based descriptions". Dudley-Evans (1995 in Paltridge 2001:4) further warns against genre analysis becoming overly prescriptive and thus implying that "students have only to learn basic textual structures to create a genre that meets the expectations of a particular discourse community".

These positions thus introduce the notion of intercultural tension into the relationship between genre and society, but they do not go on to suggest how an alternative practice might be encouraged. One possible way forward is hinted at but not developed when Paltridge (2001:6) states that "genre-based descriptions also need to consider intercultural differences in the realisation of genres", and this is where the analysis of third-space discourse such as that between the NRDDDB and Iwokrama could prove very useful. The analyses in Chapters 6 and 7 in particular reveal not only intercultural tensions within the texts, but also demonstrated a considerable degree of alternative and effective practice. In terms of a pedagogy for empowerment, these alternative practices could be studied and compared both in terms of their generic structure and the social purposes they serve, relating form to function at every level. This is simply a case of extending to include a comparative perspective the type of analysis suggested by Cope and Kalantzis and Swales and Dudley-Evans and summed up by Paltridge (2001:6), who proposes that a genre-based perspective on language teaching:

needs to include a flexible, rather than static, view of genres, one that takes as its starting point the context of production and interpretation of the text, rather than just patterns of organisation and linguistic features of the text. When organisational patterns and linguistic features are focused on, they need to be considered in relation to the context and purpose of the genre, participant roles, and the values, traditions and expectations of the particular discourse community.

The analysis of third-space hybrid genres from such a perspective relies by definition on the kind of problematising of texts that Luke considers missing in current practice. However, it can also go beyond this in providing a starting point for an alternative critical practice. Equally importantly, inasmuch as such a comparative analysis necessarily includes an examination of the dominant genres at the level of detail proposed by Rose, this approach will also enable learners to operate within these socially necessary genres. In the ideal scenario learners would be equipped both with the structures of dominant practice and a level of competence that, in Bourdieu's terms, enables them to transgress this practice in the name of a higher good. In other words, the meaning potential open to them in intercultural encounters is expanded to allow them to respond either according to the dominant convention or in terms that challenge that convention from the direction of the speaker's own ideology.

In conclusion, a genre-based approach to pedagogy aimed at empowering marginalised communities can draw on third-space hybrid texts: (i) to teach those dominant genres necessary to function within society; (ii) to illustrate the ideological basis of both dominant and third-space genres; (iii) to provide the basis for the formation of genres that can challenge the dominant ideology through the introduction of minority values into prestigious contexts. In these terms the teaching of genre through third-space texts meets the criteria set out above for empowering community participants within the Discourse of development: developing a community voice that is at once appropriate to the fora of development in which it will have to be heard and at the same time acts as a vector of the cultural values of the local community. Moreover, the very act of using these texts as valuable data in the language classroom will enhance the prestige of both those operating within the third space and the cultural values they are transmitting by doing so. The



following section considers briefly the place of such a genre-based approach within a second-language curriculum and as a means of training for those working within development contexts.

### 9.6.2 Specific applications.

#### *Second-language education in the school system.*

The genre-based approach to language instruction outlined above would need to be tailored to suit specific sociocultural contexts and long-term goals. Within the school system, for example, the genre-based approach could build on a transformative approach to indigenous education that promotes additive bilingualism<sup>4</sup> at primary level and that encourages older learners to critically appraise and value their own culture and languages as well as those of the dominant sectors of society. This later approach could be incorporated within a programme of Critical Language Awareness (CLA; see. Fairclough 1992 [Ed.]) that: (i) considers the different patterns of use of different languages in social domains and relates these patterns to wider social issues; (ii) uncovers the covert ideology of texts by relating lexicogrammatical features within them to the power in and behind language and the ideological subject positions created.

In relation to the hybrid genres of development discourse, texts such as those in Chapter 7 could be exploited to explore the relationship between context and the registerial variables of discourse, introducing learners to the concept of the three metafunctions as the interface between discourse and society. These texts could also be used to introduce the crucial concept that the meaning potential of a context is an area of both constraint and choice, allowing both for the 'appropriate' response and for the "transgressions of wise men". The superficial similarities masking deep differences between Simone's contribution and Uncle Fred's provide a perfect examples of this. This potential-based approach seems particularly appropriate to teaching spoken genres which, as they are

jointly constructed in practice, are much harder to predict and describe than written genres.

The texts in Chapter 6 can be used to introduce the notion of control over the sequencing and content of speech turns and relate this to power relations between participants, their different goals, and the wider social context in which they operate. The institutional constraints and expectations that led to Simone taking control back from William demonstrate the invisible power behind language and can be used to introduce this core concept. Conversely, the use by William and others of the power in language to perturb the institutional context in Texts 6.2 to 6.6 can be analysed in its own terms but also as a further example that institutions are not immutable and power is not beyond challenge.

Within a wider context, relationships between the various genre types within development could be discussed from a topological perspective that considers both the lexicogrammatical features of register and the social context of their production. This would then provide a link between the specific study of the genres of development discourse and essential genres from other areas of social life. The overall aim of this approach, from the use of home languages in primary school to the linking of language and society in secondary school, would not be to develop competence within the genres of development at the expense of other more essential genres, but for learners to be aware of the issues surrounding their use and the relationship between language and society at a more general level. This means fostering what Walsh (1991:127 in Pennycook 2001:15) calls critical bilingualism:

the ability not just to speak two languages, but to be conscious of the sociocultural and ideological contexts in which the languages (and therefore the speakers) are positioned, and the multiple meanings that are fostered in each.

*Training and development for those involved in NRDDB-Iwokrama development discourse.*

Within the context of the North Rupununi the explicit discussion of language and society could benefit both community activists and professional development workers, particularly in joint sessions (I am loath to suggest ‘workshops’!) that encourage the two sides to relate their experiences, positive and negative, within the various development fora and to suggest ways in which discourse practice might be improved.

Such discussions could be developed from the notion of language as a social semiotic and the model of language and power in Chapter 3. Participants would be encouraged to consider what are their aims during specific fora, to situate these goals within the broader context of their ideologies of development, and to relate the discourse features of their contributions to these wider social contexts. This should uncover tensions between the different ideologies at play and how these affect discourse relations and understanding between the two groups. Text 6.1 could be used to illustrate these tensions and the way in which institutional structures can undermine local goals while appearing to have been successful communicative events. This leads to the difference between speaking to (or even at) local communities and true consultation with them. The texts in Chapter 7 illustrate the related point that achieving understanding depends on both comprehension and empathy and that it is necessary to relate to the social context of the local community.

This approach could be extended to cover a topological perspective on the various means of communication that exist between the NRDDDB, the local communities and Iwokrama. Considered in terms of the various modes of power analysed in Chapters 6 to 8 and the model of third-space collaboration in Section 9.2 above, this discussion could be used to develop the system of communications outlined in Section 9.4.2.1.

In terms of the linguistic empowerment of the local community, the texts in Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate the possibility and importance of projecting your own cultural values through the genres of development discourse. The use of the variables of register within and between these texts could be analysed in fine detail and the local participants encouraged to relate these to their own cultural context and the goals of the speakers in

the various texts. The use of interpersonal features is of interest throughout the texts, while Text 7.2 is of particular interest in terms of the field and mode of discourse. As above, this approach should encourage a view of meaning potential as at once constraint and choice, analysing in some depth the range of lexicogrammatical features that can be employed in various contexts and the social meaning they carry. This approach should thus satisfy both Rose and Luke in that it provides minority participants with the means either to follow the norms of the dominant culture or to impose their own ideology upon the context. This represents an intercultural extension of generic competence:

Generic competence is different from yet includes both linguistic competence and communicative competence; that is, it includes both mastery of the language code (linguistic competence) and the ability to use textual, contextual and pragmatic knowledge (communicative competence) to both interpret and create contextually appropriate texts as instances of a particular genre (generic competence). Generic competence is not simply about the ability to reproduce discourse forms; it is the ability to understand what happens in real-world interactions and to use this understanding to participate in real-world communicative practice.

Paltridge 2001:7

*Discourse training for development workers in general.*

The analysis of genuine texts within a genre-based approach could also be used in the training of development workers before they head into the communities where they will work. While such decontextualised examples could not be used to develop a critical discourse practice, they could be exploited at a general level to develop awareness of the sociolinguistic issues within development.

In particular, the analysis of texts could focus on the power behind language and the notion that all discourse is ideologically constrained. An awareness that development is no less ideological than mythology, for example, might encourage a deeper understanding of community values, an openness to the notion of third-space discourse, and a level of critical reflexivity in the field. An awareness of the top-down relationship between ideology, context and discourse features should also promote an awareness of

the invisible power of institutions and the symbolic capital of individuals despite appearances of good relations and informality in discourse situations.

Symbolic capital attaches itself to participants on both sides of development, and the texts in Chapters 6 and 7 can be used to illustrate that various modes of power are at work in discourse, each with its own specific values. Such an awareness should give rise to a consideration of the proper role of the outside development worker and their expertise: as a necessary part of the dynamic of development as catalyst, facilitator and supplier of imported knowledge and expertise; but by no means the only source of knowledge, nor the source of moral authority that ultimately sanctions community action.

### **9.7 Conclusions.**

In this chapter I have related the textual analyses of Chapters 6 to 8 to each other and to the wider social context using the model of language and power developed in Chapter 3. The wider implications of this model were then considered in terms of NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse and for development practice in general. I have also suggested ways in which the hybrid, third-space genres that are appearing spontaneously within NRDDDB-Iwokrama discourse could be used within a genre-based pedagogy of empowerment that develops competence within dominant genres while questioning the ideology behind these and offering alternatives that better reflect local community values.

I have thus come full circle to the defining principle of this thesis that community development is an empty term without the full participation of community voices and the legitimization of indigenous values within the Discourse of Development. This chapter has suggested how these voices might be amplified and enhanced, drawing largely on the field data from my three years and more in Guyana. During this period I was fortunate enough to witness such voices making themselves loudly and clearly heard in the Rupununi, and I look forward to the continued vitality, creativity and openness to challenge from workers on both sides of development that made this possible.

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<sup>1</sup> Or better “ideologies” as both Government and international development ideologies are in force here.



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<sup>2</sup> Foucault (1980:118) rejects the term ideology on these grounds, but I find it a useful term to describe the commonalities of an idealised coherent social system, seen as either the cause or effect of that system.

<sup>3</sup> Martin (1999:150 n.4) for example challenges Luke's interpretation and the "high moral ground assumed by critical theorists in educational debates".

<sup>4</sup> Additive bilingualism is "where the addition of a second language and culture is unlikely to replace or displace the first language and culture...Positive attitudes to diglossia and bilingualism may also result." (Baker 1996:66).

**Appendices.**

## **Appendix 1. Chronological list of field recordings.**

<b>Tape No(s).</b>	<b>Date.</b>	<b>Subject.</b>	<b>Location.</b>	<b>Duration.</b>
1-4	February 2000	National Education Workshop	Lethem	6 hrs
5	12/4/00	Peter Persuad, Chair, The Amerindian Action Movement of Guyana (TAAMOG)	My house Georgetown	45m
6-8	18-19/4/00	Community Management Workshop	Toka	3hrs30m
9-14	7/7/00- 8/7/00	NRDDB Meeting.	Bina Hill Institute	6hrs30m
15-18	10-12/7/00	CEW Workshop	Rupertree	4hrs
19	19/7/00	Peter Persuad and Iwokrama Field Manager	TAAMOG office Georgetown	45m
20-22	3-4/11/00	NRDDB Meeting.	Bina Hill Institute	3hrs
23	5/11/00	CEW Classification Training	Bina Hill Institute	1hr
24	8/11/00	William Andries	Toka Schoolhouse	1hr
25	9/11/00	Steve Touchau of Toka	Toka	30m
26	9/11/00	William Andries	Toka Schoolhouse	1hr
27	10/11/00	Eugene Isaacs	Mike Mendoza's house Toka	1hr
28-30	6-8/12/00	Iwokrama Workshop on Sustainable Development in the Guiana Shield.	Pegasus Hotel Georgetown	4hrs
31a	28/2/01	Steve Andries (on development)	Outside Steve's house Rupertree	45m
31b-32a	6/3/01	Comacho Scipio, Head, Surama Primary School	Outside Comacho's house, Surama	1hr15m
33	6/3/01	Uncle Fred (on development)	Surama Rest House	1hr30m
34	24/4/01	Graham Watkins (on development)	Iwokrama Georgetown	1hr30m
35	24/4/01	Macsood Hoosein, Iwokrama	Iwokrama Georgetown	1hr
36	4/11/01	NRDDB Meeting	Bina Hill Institute	1hr30m
37-40	18-19/1/02	NRDDB Meeting	Yakarinta	6hrs
41	22/6/02	Uncle Fred	Surama Rest House	1hr30m
<b>TOTAL:</b>				<b>48hrs</b>

Appendix 2. Cloran's (2000) classification of rhetorical units.

EVENT ORIENTATION		HABITUAL		REALIS		IRREALIS		INFORMATION EXCHANGE	
CENTRAL ENTITY				CONCURRENT		PRIOR		GOODS/SERVICES EXCHANGE	
Within material situational setting (MSS)						Recount		Action	
interactant		Reflection		Commentary				FORECAST	
other: person/object		Observation						Plan/Prediction	
Not within MSS								Prediction	
person/object		Account		Report				Prediction	
Class		Generalisation							

Continuum of role of language in social process:

ancillary [e.g. contextualised] \_\_\_\_\_ constitutive [e.g. decontextualised]  
Action-Commentary Observation-Reflection Report Account Plan-Prediction Conjecture Recount Generalisation

### **Appendix 3. Processes and superordinates in the Amerindian Act and the NRDDDB Constitution.**

<b>Superordinate as in systems network.</b>	<b>Textual examples.</b>
exchange goods as Source	deliver, sell (x3), dispose of (x2), supply, surrender, transfer (x2), vest in, compensate, give, pay (x6), provide
exchange goods as Recipient	take possession, retain, preserve, occupy, take
employ	employ (x11), apprentice, place in service
conduct business	manage (x2), sue for, recover, receive regulate, use land (x3), conduct business, control land (x2), provide, maintain, control (x3), establish, develop, prevent, change, perform services, administer
control money	keep records, receive money, deal with money, utilise taxes, deposit (x2), use, establish fund, pay in, invest, expand fund, bear expenses, keep accounts (x2), prepare accounts, verify fund, approve fund, audit, present fund
harm	aggrieve
care for, protect	care for (x2), protect, respect, enable, provide custody, educate
behave well	
behave badly	lend certificate, give certificate, damage, convert property, fail (x4), be disloyal, act disloyally, default, refuse, confine, supply/provide alcohol (x4), consume alcohol (x2), buy alcohol, possess alcohol, be injurious, leave wife, force to leave wife
come under law	reside (x3), remain, enter (x2), attain age, occupy, hold land (x2)
obey law	produce certificate, carry out instructions, pay tax, take notice of act (x4), appear before (x2), pay fine
have rights in law	have immunity, hold rights (x3), use rights
make, change law	make rules (x3), levy taxes (x2), submit plans, vary plans, increase tax, modify (x3), qualify, make exceptions, in general regulate (x2), prohibit, control, cancel
decide	decide (x3), determine (x4), designate, demarcate, apply (x2), restrict, control (x2), choose, approve, identify, interpret Act (x2)
label, designate, register	register (x7), appoint (x9), confer power on, establish, reappoint (x2), assign, label
control	control, issue instructions, keep/maintain order (x2), transfer, administer, catch, move



permit	grant permission (x3), refuse, vest rights, revoke permission (x2), prevent
punish	fine (x7), convict (x4), revoke (x6), repossess, seize, remove, punish (x2)
take action, fulfil duties	keep book, send, find in possession, exercise power (x3), act, hear case, prosecute, hear appeal, institute proceedings, retain counsel, take steps, have power, cease office, be member (x5), hold office (x2), be chairman (x3), establish, be councillor, discharge duties, follow procedures, transfer, annotate records, investigate (x2), examine
request legal action	appeal (x4), apply, request, make representations
evaluate	be dissatisfied (x2), be aggrieved, complain, think fit (x3), wish, approve (x4), allow plans, consider (x3), be satisfied (x5), be of opinion, verify, remit, agree with
agree	assent, agree (x3)
declare, report, explain	report, notify (x3), publish (x3), show, submit, provide account, satisfy, convince

## Appendix 4. Quantitative networks from the Amerindian Act and the NRDDDB Constitution.

### Amerindian Act.

#### Participant: GOG (277).

##### Role: Initiator/Authority (86).

business (33)	exchange goods (4) as Source (4) employ (11) work, conduct business (14) control money (4)
behave, act (6)	on others (3) care for, protect(3) alone (3) badly (3)
law (40)	subject to (6) come under (4) have rights (2) subject over (34) establish (17) make, change (8) interpret (9) decide (5) label, designate, register (4) carry out (17) control (3) permit (1) punish (5) take action, fulfil duties (8)
mental, verbal (7)	evaluate (1) agree (3) declare, report, explain (3)

Actor (173):Initiator:

business (37)	exchange			
	goods (14)	as Source (9)		GOG (1)
		as Recipient (5)		
	conduct business (5)			
	control money (18)			GOG (3)
behave, act (5)	on others (5)	harm (1)		
		care for,		
		protect(4)		
law (106)	subject to (6)	come under (2)		
		obey (4)		
	subject			
	over (100)	establish (46)	make, change (10)	GOG (1)
			interpret (36)	decide (14)
				label, designate,
				register (22)
		carry out (54)	control (4)	GOG (4)
			permit (8)	GOG(1)
			punish (16)	GOG(1)
			take action, fulfil	
			duties (24)	GOG(2)Am(1)
			request action (2)	
				GOG (3)
mental,				
	verbal (25)	evaluate (20)		
		declare, report, explain (5)		

Patient (8):Actor:

behave, act (1)	on others (1)	care for, protect(1)			GOG(1)
law (5)	subject over (5)	establish (3)	interpret (3)	label, designate, register (3)	GOG(3) Am(2)
		carry out (2)	request action (2)		
mental, verbal (2)	agree (1) declare, report, explain (1)				Am(1) Other(1)

Beneficiary(10):Actor()

business (5)	exchange goods (3)	as Source (3)			Am(2)Other(1) GOG(2)
	control money (2)				
law (3)	subject to (1)	obey (1)			Am(1)
	subject over (2)	carry out (2)	take action, fulfil duties (1)		GOG(1) Am(1)
			request action (1)		
mental, verbal (2)	declare, report, explain (2)				Am(1)Other(1)

**Amerindian Act.**

**Participant: Amerindians (213).**

Role: Initiator/Authority (4).

business (1)    exchange  
                  goods (1)        as Source(1)

behave, act (1) alone (1)        badly (1)

law (2)        subject to (1)    obey (1)

                  subject            carry out (1)    punish (1)  
                  over (1)

<i>Actor(103):</i>	<i>Initiator:</i>
business (21)    exchange goods (5)        as Source (5) conduct business (16)	Am(1) GOG (11)
behave, act (16) alone (16)        badly (16)	GOG(2)Am(1)
law (54)        subject to (15) come under (6) obey (6) have rights (3)	GOG (1) Am (1) GOG (2)
subject over (39)        establish (15) make, change (9) interpret (6)    decide (5) label, designate (1)	GOG (5) GOG (5)
carry out (24) control (2) punish (6) take action, fulfil duties (12) request action (4)	GOG (1) GOG (2) GOG (6)
mental, verbal (12)    evaluate (5) agree (4) declare, report, explain (3)	GOG (3) GOG (1)



*Patient (55):**Actor:*

business (15)	exchange				
	goods (1)	as Source (1)			Other(1)
	employ (14)				Other(14)
behave, act (7)	on others (7)	harm (3)			Am(2)Other(1)
		care for, protect(4)			GOG(1)Other(3)
law (30)	subject over (30)	establish (18)	interpret (18)	label, designate, register (18)	GOG(18)
		carry out (12)	control (4)		GOG(3)Other(1)
			punish (5)		GOG(5)
			take action, fulfil		
			duties (2)		GOG(2)
			request action (1)		GOG(1)
mental, verbal (3)	evaluate (1)				GOG(1)
	agree (1)				GOG(1)
	declare, report, explain (1)				GOG(1)

*Beneficiary(51):**Actor:*

business (15)	exchange goods (8)	as Source (7)			GOG(5)Other(2)
		as Recipient (1)			GOG(1)
	work, conduct business (2)				GOG(1)Other(1)
	control money (5)				GOG(4)
behave, act (8)	on others (8)	harm (6)			Am(6)
		care for, protect(2)			GOG(2)
law (25)	subject to (3)	come under (1)			Am(1)
		have rights (2)			Am(2)
	subject over (22)	establish (2)	interpret (2)	decide (1)	GOG(1)
				label, designate, register (1)	GOG(1)
		carry out (20)	control (3)		GOG(3)
			permit (3)		GOG(3)
			punish (5)		Am(4)GOG(1)
			take action, fulfil duties (8)		GOG(6)Am(2)
			request action (1)		GOG(1)
mental, verbal (3)	evaluate (2)				GOG(2)
	declare, report, explain (1)				Other(1)

**NRDDB Constitution.**

**Participant: NRDDB/Amerindians (170).**

Role: Initiator (26):

- business (11)

exchange  
goods (2) as Source (2)  
work,  
conduct business (7)  
control money (2)
- behave, act (2)

on others () care for,  
protect(2)
- law (3)

subject  
over (3) establish (1) make, change (1)  
carry out (2) take action, fulfil  
duties (2)
- mental,  
verbal (10)

evaluate (1)  
agree (2)  
advise, plan (4)  
communicate (2)  
know, discover (1)

*Actor (98):**Initiator (20):*

business (20)	exchange goods (1) employ (2) work, conduct business (12) control money (5)	as Source (1)			NRDDB(7) NRDDB(2)
behave, act (8)	on others (6)	care for, protect(6) alone (2)	badly (2)		NRDDB(2)
law (57)	subject to (15)	come under (10) obey (1) have rights (4)			
	subject over (42)	establish (19)	make, change (3) interpret (16)	label, designate, register (16)	NRDDB(1)GOG(2) NRDDB(1)Iwok(1)
		carry out (23)	control (1) permit (3) punish (2) take action, fulfil duties (13) request action (4)		NRDDB(1)
mental, verbal (13)	evaluate (2) declare, report, explain (5) know, discover (1) advise, plan (3) communicate (2)				NRDDB(1) NRDDB(1) NRDDB(1)

Patient (24):Actor:

business (2)	conduct business (2)				Am/NRDDDB(2)
behave, act (3)	on others (3)	care for, protect(3)			NRDDDB(2)NGO/GOG(1)
law (19)	subject over (19)	establish (12)	interpret (12)	label, designate, register (12)	Am/NRDDDB(12)
		carry out (7)	permit (2)		NRDDDB(2)
			punish (2)		NRDDDB(2)
			take action, fulfil duties (1)		NRDDDB(1)
			request action (2)		NRDDDB(2)

Beneficiary (22):Actor:

business (8)	exchange goods (3)	as Source (3)			NRDDDB(1)GOG/NGO(1)Other(1)
	work, conduct business (2)				Am/NRDDDB(2)
	control money (3)				NRDDDB(2)Other(1)
behave, act (4)	on others (4)	care for, protect(4)			Am/NRDDDB(4)
law (5)	subject over (5)	establish (1)	interpret (1)	label, designate, register (1)	NRDDDB(1)
		carry out (4)	take action, fulfil duties (2)		NRDDDB(2)
			request action (2)		NRDDDB(2)
mental, verbal (5)	evaluate (1)				NRDDDB(1)
	declare, report, explain (2)				NRDDDB(2)
	advise, plan (2)				NRDDDB(2)



### **NRDDB Constitution.**

**Participant: GOG/NGO (21).**

Role: Initiator (3):

law (3)      subject  
over (3)      establish (3)      make, change (2)  
interpret (1)      label, designate,  
register (1)

Actor (12):

Initiator (7):

business (2)	exchange		
	goods (1)	as Source (1)	NRDDB(1)
	work,		
	conduct business (1)		NRDDB(1)

behave, act (3) on others (1) care for,  
protect (1)  
alone (2) badly (2)

mental,		
verbal (7)	evaluate (2)	
	agree (2)	NRDDB(2)
	advise, plan (2)	NRDDB(2)
	communicate (1)	NRDDB(1)

Patient (3):

Actor:

business (1) control money (1) NRDDDB(1)

mental,		
verbal (2)	evaluate (1)	NRDDB(1)
	communicate (1)	NRDDB(1)

Beneficiary (3):

Actor:

mental,		
verbal (3)	declare, report, explain (3)	NRDDB(3)

**Iwokrama Act.**

**Participant: Iwokrama (285).**

Role: Initiator (36):

- business (19)    conduct business (14)  
                         control money (5)
  
- behave, act (1)on others (1)    care for,  
   protect(1)
  
- law (10)            subject to (3)    have rights (3)  
                         subject  
                         over (7)            establish (1)    interpret (1)    label, designate,  
   register (1)  
   carry out (6)    control (1)  
   take action, fulfil  
   duties (5)
  
- mental,  
verbal (6)            agree (2)  
                         declare, report, explain (2)  
                         know (2)

Actor (194):Initiator (14):

business (73)	exchange goods (14)	as Source (13) as Recipient (1)	
	employ (5) work, conduct business (33) control money (21)		NGO(1) Iwok(3)
behave, act (11)	on others (9)	harm (2) care for, protect(7) badly (2)	
	alone (2)		
law (83)	subject to (16)	come under (2) obey (2) have rights, be immune (12)	
	subject over (67)	establish (26)	GOG(1)
		make, change (3) interpret (23)	GOG(1)
		decide (12) label, designate, register (11)	Iwok(1)GOG(1)
		carry out (41)	Iwok(1)
		control (4) take action, fulfil duties (35) request action, represent (2)	Iwok(3)
mental, verbal (27)	evaluate (8) agree (4) declare, report, explain (11) know (4)		Iwok(1) GOG/NGO(1)

Patient (31):Actor:

business (2)	employ (2)			Iwok(2)
behave, act (1)	on others (1)	care for, protect(1)		GOG(1)
law (24)	subject over (24)	establish (15)	make, change (1) interpret (14)	GOG(1) Iwok(2)
			decide (2) label, designate, register (12)	GOG/NGO(11) Iwok(1)
		carry out (9)	control (2) punish (6) request action (1)	GOG(2) GOG(6) GOG(1)
mental, verbal (4)	evaluate (2) advise (2)			Iwok(2) GOG/NGO(2)

Beneficiary (24):Actor:

business (10)	exchange goods (6) employ (2) work, conduct business (1) control money (1)	as Source (6)		NGO(1) Iwok(4) Other(1) Iwok(2)
law (13)	subject to (1) subject over (12)	obey (1)		Iwok(1)
		establish (2)	make, change (1) interpret (1)	GOG(1) Iwok(1)
		carry out (10)	decide (1) control (1) permit (2) take action, fulfil duties (6) request action (1)	Iwok(1) GOG(2) Iwok(6) Iwok(1)
mental, verbal (1)	evaluate (1)			GOG(1)

**Iwokrama Act.**

**Participant: GOG/NGO (83).**

Role: Initiator (6):

business (1)	conduct business (1)		
law (3)	subject over (3)	establish (3)	make, change (1) interpret (2) decide (1) label, designate, register (1)
mental, verbal (2)	evaluate (1) agree (1)		

Actor (69): \_\_\_\_\_ Initiator (3):

business (6)	exchange goods (3)	as Source (1) as Recipient (2)		
	work, conduct business (2) control money (1)			
behave, act (2)	on others (2)	care for, protect(2)		
law (50)	subject to (1) subject over (49)	obey (1) establish (12)	make, change (4) interpret (8) label, designate, register (8)	
		carry out (37)	control (3) permit (4) punish (6) take action, fulfil duties (5) request action (19)	Iwok(2)
mental, verbal (11)	evaluate (5) agree (3) advise (3)			Iwok(1)



Patient (4): \_\_\_\_\_ Actor:

behave, act (1)	on others (1)	care for, protect(1)		science(1)
law (3)	subject over (3)	carry out (1)	control (1) request action (2)	Iwok(1) Iwok(1)GOG(1)

Beneficiary (4):

business (3)	work, conduct business (2) control money (1)		Iwok(2) Iwok(1)
mental, verbal (1)	declare, report, explain (1)		Iwok(1)

Participant roles of GOG in the Iwokrama Act.

**Appendix 5. Sense relations in Texts 7.1 and 7.2.**

The sense relationship between each lexical item and the previous one is given in brackets. This is easier in theory than in practice and is open to (slightly) different interpretations. In these Tables (syn) = synonym; (mer) = meronym; (comer) = comeronym; (super) = superordinate; (hyp) = hyponym; (cohyp) = cohyponym; (rpt) = repetition; (contr) = contrast.

**Sense relations within Text 7.1**

---

1	SUA process	
2		
3		
4	the whole SUA (syn)	
5	the processes (mer)	
6	system (syn)	
7		
8	team (comer)	
9	team (rpt)	four NRDDDB representatives (mer)
10	two representatives from the Government (comer)	
11	Guyana Forestry Commission (comer)	
12	government agency (syn)	
13	Guyana Environmental Protection Agency representatives (comer)	
14		
15		
16	communities (comer)	
17	Government representatives (comer)	Iwokrama (comer)
18	area (contr)	
19	businesses (comer)	area (comer)
20	management of the land (mer)	SUA (super)
21	these people (mer)	
22		
23	the process (super)	
24		
25		
26	NRDDDB representatives (mer)	
27	meeting (comer)	
28	villages (comer)	
29	SUA (super)	Iwokrama (mer)
30	the preserve (comer)	
31	businesses (mer)	
32	logging (mer)	
33	ecotourism (comer)	
34	harvesting (comer)	
35	non-timber forest products (super)	
36	communities (super)	

37	communities (rpt)
38	communities (rpt)
39	
40	
41	meetings (comer)
42	NRDDB reps (mer)
43	smaller meeting (super)
44	community programme (syn)
45	
46	NRDDB (comer)
47	big meetings (comer)
48	a lot of issues (mer)
49	
50	discussions (comer)
51	a lot of things (comer)
52	meeting (super)
53	communities (mer)
54	
55	
56	
57	
58	general SUA meetings (super)
59	
60	
61	
62	
63	
64	
65	discussions of economics (mer)
66	discussion (syn)
67	kinds of language (mer)
68	
69	in-between meetings (super)
70	Iwokrama (mer)
71	
72	
73	NRDDB (comer)
74	
75	
76	outreach in the villages (comer)
77	what's going on in the villages (syn)
78	SUA (super)
79	Iwokrama (mer)
80	
81	
82	representatives of the forest (comer)
83	
84	
85	
86	
87	village councils (syn)
88	communities (super)
89	discussion (comer)
90	
91	NRDDB (super)
92	

93	community reps (mer)	
94	bigger SUA (super)	
95		
96		
97		
98	NRDDB (mer)	four people for the SUA meetings (mer)
99		
100	SUA meetings (super)	
101		
102	NRDDB (mer)	
103	reps (mer)	
104	issues (comer)	
105	what's going on (syn)	
106	proposal (mer)	
107		
108		
109		
110	this meeting (super)	
111		
112		
113		
114	meeting with four reps (syn)	
115		
116		
117		
118		
119	what happens (mer)	
120		
121		
122	big groups (super)	points raised (mer)
123		
124	small group (super)	
125	priorities (mer)	
126		
127		
128	big group (super)	
129	Iwokrama (comer)	

---

## Sense relations within Text 7.2

---

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6 Sustainable Utilisation Area
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17 Sustainable Utilisation Area (rpt)
- 18 Wilderness Preserve (comer)
- 19
- 20 Sustainable Utilisation Area (comer)
- 21
- 22
- 23 that forest (syn)
- 24 people closest to the forest (mer)
- 25 people who live outside (contr)
- 26 way of life (contr)
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30
- 31
- 32
- 33 whatever is built or constructed (contr)
- 34
- 35 we (contr)
- 36
- 37
- 38
- 39
- 40 Sustainable Utilisation Area (super)
- 41 natural resources (mer)
- 42 sustainable use (comer)
- 43
- 44
- 45
- 46
- 47
- 48 medicinal plants (hyp) frogs, centipedes, snakes, fishes (cohyps)
- 49 baboon (cohyp)
- 50
- 51



52  
 53  
 54  
 55 recycling (super)  
 56 interaction of resources (comer)  
 57 reforestation (mer)  
 58 plantlings (hyp) seedlings (cohyp)  
 59 special medicinal plant (comer)  
 60  
 61  
 62 valuable medicinal plant (syn)  
 63  
 64  
 65  
 66 natural resources (super)  
 67 established connexion (comer)  
 68  
 69 changes (super)  
 70  
 71  
 72  
 73  
 74 forest (mer)  
 75 natural state (super)  
 76  
 77  
 78  
 79  
 80  
 81  
 82  
 83 those things (super)  
 84  
 85 fire in the savannah (contr)  
 86 innocent birds' lives (comer)  
 87  
 88 snake (comer)  
 89 snake  
 90 savannah (super)  
 91  
 92 bad habit (contr)  
 93 poisoning (hyp)  
 94  
 95  
 96  
 97  
 98 knowledge (contr)  
 99  
 100 sustainability of the forest (super)  
 101 Iwokrama (mer)  
 102 other communities way outside (comer)  
 103  
 104  
 105 plant (comer)  
 106  
 107

108	
109	sustainable utilisation (super)
110	
111	research (mer)
112	animals (mer)
113	reptiles (hyp)
114	botanical collection (super)
115	
116	greenheart (mer)
117	key elements (super)
118	
119	
120	
121	greenheart(mer)
122	commercial harvesting (super)
123	
124	areas (contr)
125	
126	areas (rpt)
127	
128	
129	
130	Wilderness Reserve (hyp)
131	sustainable portion (cohyp)
132	
133	Wildlife Preserve (cohyp)
134	
135	
136	
137	
138	
139	
140	
141	
142	tentative demarcation (super)
143	our part to play (mer)
144	
145	non-timber products (mer)
146	extraction of timber (contr)
147	non-timber products (contr)
148	handicrafts (hyp)
149	dyes (cohyp)
150	other things...for cash (super)
151	
152	
153	money (syn)
154	
155	
156	regeneration (cohyp)
157	
158	
159	
160	
161	
162	
163	

birds and all them things (cohyps)

nuts (cohyp)

164  
165 forest (super)  
166 forest (rpt)  
167  
168  
169  
170 community (mer)  
171 support (mer)  
172 identification of things that you can use (mer)  
173  
174 things that you traditionally use (syn)  
175 small samples (mer)  
176  
177 analysis (comer)  
178  
179 market (super)  
180 whole set of things (mer)  
181 research (comer)  
182 market (super)  
183  
184  
185 something very limited (contr)  
186 good market (super)  
187 quantity to supply the market (mer)  
188 contractor (comer)  
189  
190  
191 bad business (super)  
192 Sustainable Utilisation (comer)  
193 Sustainable Utilisation Areas (mer)  
194  
195 places (mer)  
196 what is there (mer)  
197  
198 market (comer)  
199  
200 handicraft (mer)  
201 Sustainable Utilisation (super)

---

## **Appendix 6. Interview schedule for Tapes 31, 33 and 34.**

Name:                      Organisation/Village:                      Position:  
Native language:                      English skills:

### **Part I: System, lifeworld and the third space.**

- i) What is your personal role within the system of information flow between Iwokrama and the community?
- ii) Why does Iwokrama teach Western knowledge (e.g. classification)?
- iii) How do you see the role of Western knowledge systems and community knowledge systems? Are there any areas of potential conflict?
- iv) Can Western and community knowledge systems mesh? How and why?
- v) How have they meshed so far? What are your experiences as giver/receiver of information/goods and services?
- vi) How do you see the two areas working together/conflicting in the future?
- vii) How do you see them working together ideally:
  - as systems (workshops/NRDDDB/grassroots)?
  - re content?
  - problems of short-term vs long-term and theory vs practice?
- viii) What knowledge has Iwokrama got of local systems of communication and vice versa?

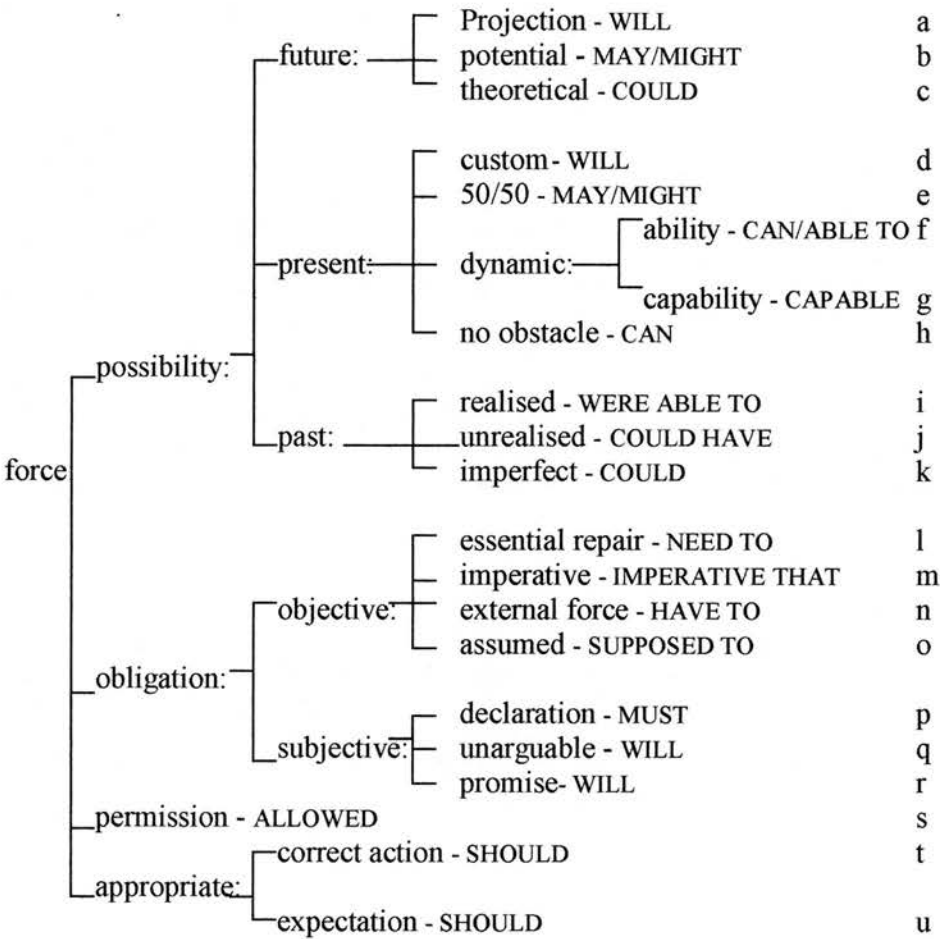
### **Part II: Relationship Iwokrama $\diamond$ Community.**

- i) What does Iwokrama contribute to community life? Vice versa?
- ii) Who gives receives more information/goods and services?
- iii) Narrative and evaluation of ongoing relationship Iwokrama  $\diamond$  communities.
- iv) Have there been changes in discourse structure over time?
- v) Problems and successes with communication seen and foreseen re structure/content? Remedies? SUA/NRDDDB, etc.
- vi) What changes would you like to see?
- vii) Translation? Bilingual (education)? Permanent Iwokrama presence?

### **Part III. Facework.**

- i) Experiences and ideas on language and face between cultures?
- ii) Ditto re structures and plausibility of third space.
- iii) Relation between Iwokrama and community interpersonal structures?
- iv) Communication problems and successes at NRDDDB level? Village level? Problems with pressure to conform in some fora? Remedies?
- v) What does Iwokrama teach the community? Vice versa?
- vi) How do you present information to the community? Confident?

**Appendix 7. Textual examples of end-terms in Figure 8.1.**





*Examples. Letters refer to place in network. SA = Steve Andries; UF = Uncle Fred; GW = Graham Watkins.*

- a. SA: We tried last year, we'll come up a little bit.
- b. SA: It might be a little food basket, or whatever,
- c. SA: We could produce our own feed here. We will then be able to supply.
- d. SA: They give us notice...and we'll have a final discussion on this, right?
- e. GW: This is not consultation in terms of what the Government might think of [as] consultation.
- f. SA: By mixing with other people...you're able to gather something.
- g. GW: The Zacks and Williams and Freds and Sydneys of the world are perfectly comfortable with communicating at that level and are capable of going back to the communities and communicating at the other level as well
- h. UF: If they can be blended together I think we can get something.
- i. SA: And in that meeting we were able to come up with all of this review of the poultry.
- j. UF: They could have been gone there to ask their questions and get their answers.
- k. GW: We sat down at a meeting...but we couldn't get NRDDDB together.
- l. GW: There needs to be a set of processes for communicating.
- m. UF: It's imperative that we find a site.
- n. SA: They teach you...when you have to mulch.
- o. GW: We're supposed to write a river management plan.
- p. UF: These buildings must be at least two feet from the ground.
- q. SA: You will be responsible, in charge of this community.
- r. GW: A lot of the management planning will be based on that.
- s. GW: They're allowed to sit there for a week.
- t. GW: There is the question of whether...you should be managing from Annai.
- u. GW: In the end what you should end up with is action which pleases Fishereies.

## Appendix 8. Quantitative systems networks of modal use.

possibility(40):	future(13):	projection(9)	L(8)	L(3)	W(2)	L(2)
					D(1)	L(1)
				I(1)	D(1)	L(1)
				Jt(4)	W(1)	L(1)
					D(3)	L(2)
						Jt(1)
			I(1)	I(1)	W(1)	L(1)
		theoretical(1)	L(1)	Jt(1)	W(1)	L(1)
		potential(3)	L(3)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
				Jt(2)	D(2)	L(2)
	present(23):	dynamic(11):capacity(5)	L(5)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
				Jt(4)	W(2)	L(2)
					D(2)	L(1)
						Jt(1)
		ability(6)	L(5)	L(3)	D(3)	L(1)
				Jt(2)	W(1)	L(1)
					D(1)	Jt(1)
			I(1)	Jt(1)	W(1)	L(1)
		no obstacle(9)	L(8)	L(2)	D(2)	L(2)
				Jt(6)	W(1)	L(1)
					D(5)	L(3)
						Jt(2)
			I(1)	I(1)	W(1)	Jt(1)
		50/50(1)	L(1)	I(1)	W(1)	I(1)
		custom(2)	L(2)	L(2)	D(2)	L(1)
						Jt(1)
	past(4)	realised(1)	L(1)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
		unrealised(3)	L(3)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
				I(2)	D(2)	L(2)
obligation(20):	objective(16):	essential repair(4)	L(3)	L(3)	W(2)	L(2)
					D(1)	L(1)
			I(1)	I(1)	D(1)	L(1)
		external force(11)	L(10)	L(8)	W(5)	L(5)
					D(3)	L(3)
				I(1)	D(1)	L(1)
				Jt(1)	D(1)	L(1)
			I(1)	L(1)	W(1)	L(1)
		assumed(1)	L(1)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
	subjective(4):	declaration(3)	L(3)	L(2)	D(2)	L(2)
				I(1)	W(1)	I(1)
		unarguable(1)	L(1)	L(1)	W(1)	L(1)
appropriate(3):	correct action(3)		I(3)	I(3)	D(3)	Jt(3)

*Modal use from Steve.* d.s. = deontic source; ag./in. = agent/initiator; pr. = process (work/development); ben. = beneficiary; L = local; I = Iwokrama; Jt = joint.

			<i>d.s.</i>	<i>ag./in.</i>	<i>pr.</i>	<i>ben.</i>			
possibility(34):	future(3):	projection(3)	L(3)	L(3)	W(1)	L(1)			
					D(2)	L(2)			
	present(29):	dynamic(6):capacity(2) ability(4)	L(2) L(4)	L(2) L(3)	D(2)	L(2)			
					W(2)	L(2)			
					D(1)	L(1)			
					Jt(1)	Jt(1)			
		no obstacle(19)	L(17)	L(10)	W(4)	L(2)			
					I(2)	L(5)			
					Jt(1)	L(1)			
					W(1)	Jt(1)			
					D(5)	L(1)			
					Jt(4)	L(1)			
					Jt(2)	Jt(1)			
					D(2)	L(1)			
					I(1)	L(1)			
					Jt(6)	Jt(1)			
					D(5)	L(1)			
					Jt(4)	L(1)			
					I(2)	Jt(1)			
					Jt(2)	L(1)			
					D(2)	L(1)			
obligation(24):	past(2) objective(19):	imperfect(2) essential repair(5)	L(2) L(5)	Jt(1) Jt(2)	D(1)	Jt(1)			
					D(2)	Jt(2)			
	50/50(4)	L(4)	L(3)	W(1)	L(1)				
				D(2)	L(2)				
				Jt(1)	Jt(1)				
				D(1)	Jt(2)				
				W(2)	L(2)				
				D(1)	L(1)				
				I(1)	I(1)				
				Jt(1)	L(1)				
				W(3)	L(2)				
				D(4)	L(2)				
				Jt(2)	Jt(2)				
				W(2)	I(2)				
				W(2)	I(1)				
				I(1)	I(1)				
				Jt(1)	I(1)				
				L(1)	I(1)				
				subjective(5):	imperative(1) assumed(1) declaration(5)	I(5)	I(1)	W(1)	I(1)
								W(1)	I(1)
								L(3)	I(3)
W(3)	I(1)								
Jt(1)	I(1)								
D(1)	L(1)								
W(1)	L(3)								
D(3)	Jt(1)								
appropriate(6):	correct action(6)	L(5)	L(4)	I(1)	I(1)				
				D(1)	L(1)				
				W(1)	I(1)				

Modal use from Uncle Fred.

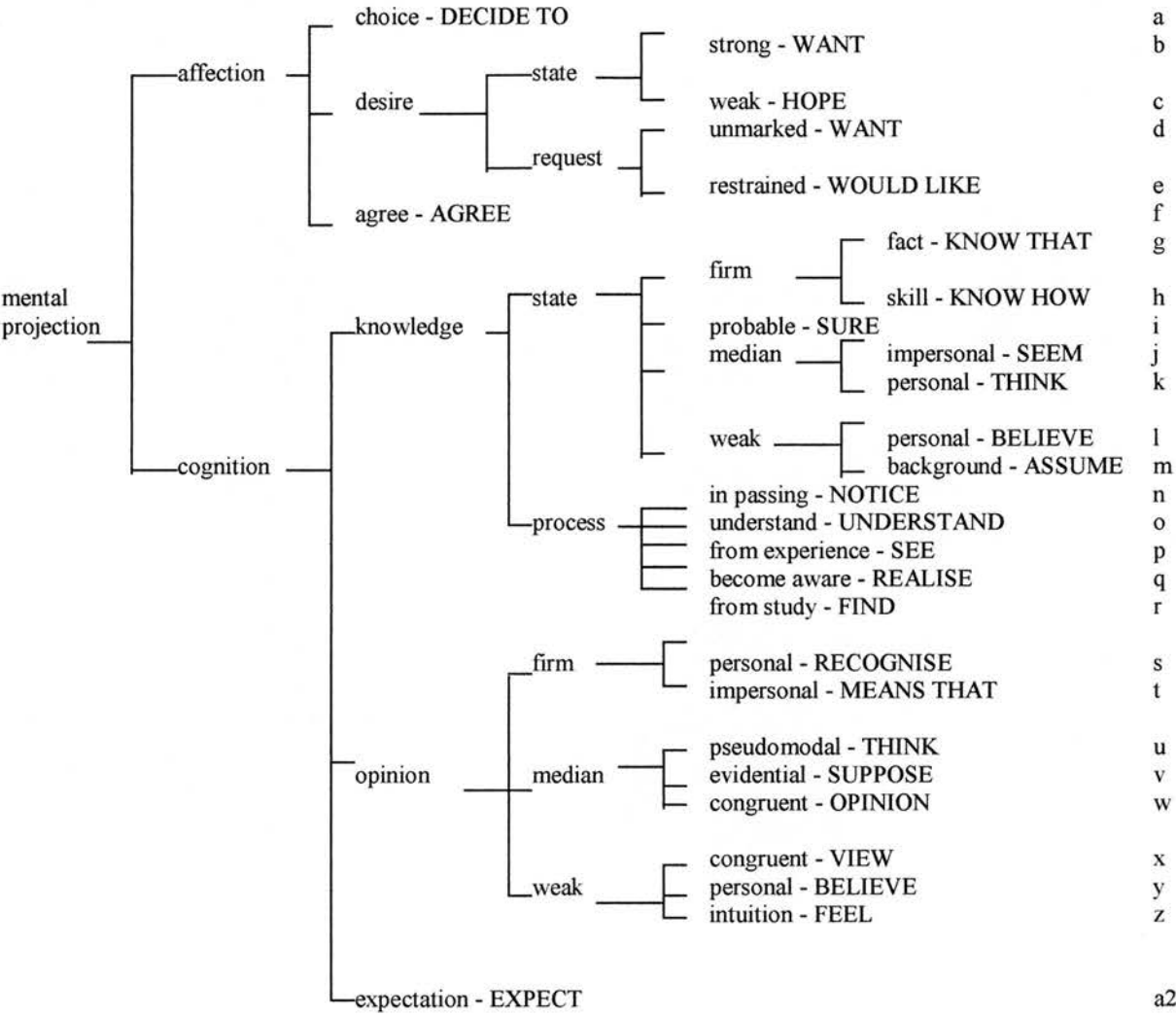


			<i>d.s.</i>	<i>ag./in.</i>	<i>pr.</i>	<i>ben.</i>
obligation(52):	objective(51):	essential repair(31)	L(1)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
			I(30)	L(4)	W(1)	L(1)
					D(3)	L(2)
						Jt(1)
				I(25)	W(12)	L(1)
						I (2)
						Jt(9)
					D(13)	L(2)
						I(2)
						Jt(9)
		external force(18)	I(18)	Jt(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
				L(3)	D(3)	L(3)
				I(13)	W(7)	Jt(7)
					D(6)	L(2)
						Jt(4)
				Jt(2)	W(1)	Jt(1)
					D(1)	Jt(1)
					W(1)	Jt(1)
					D(1)	L(1)
						L(1)
permission(1):	subjective(1):	promise(1)	I(1)	I(1)	W(1)	L(1)
			L(1)	L(1)	W(1)	L(1)
			L(7)	L(4)	W(1)	L(1)
					D(3)	L(3)
				I(3)	W(3)	L(2)
						Jt(1)
			I(22)	L(3)	W(2)	L(1)
						Jt(1)
					D(1)	Jt(1)
				I(11)	W(8)	L(4)
appropriate(30):	correct action(29)				D(3)	I(1)
						Jt(3)
						L(2)
						Jt(1)
					Jt(8)	Jt(8)
					Jt(1)	L(1)
	expectation(1)		I(1)	Jt(1)	D(8)	Jt(8)
					D(1)	L(1)

Modal use from Graham.



**Appendix 9. Textual examples of end-terms in Figure 8.2.**



*Examples. Letters refer to place in network. SA = Steve Andries; UF = Uncle Fred; GW = Graham Watkins.*

- a. SA: We had a meeting to discuss... what we decide to do.
- b. SA: We want to better... the situation.
- c. UF: Iwokrama is hoping... to have an office in the Institute there.
- d. SA: We want you o do this.
- e. SA: This is what we would like to see.
- f. GW: They need to agree too.
- g. SA: We know that this is the purpose.
- h. SA: They also sensitise every single person to know how to monitor your resources.
- i. GW: I'm not sure what the community level of awareness is.
- j. SA: They seem to understand what we are at.
- k. GW: I think in the early stages... what we did was we went out and tried to ask.
- l. SA: I believe that was one of the setbacks, by not mixing with different people
- m. GW: It was the beginning of the ethnobiology, wasn't it? I mean, that which, I assume at this level is more functional.
- n. SA: I notice how, in Anna, there is a lot of mixing up going on.
- o. UF: They are understanding that there is nowhere you can go.
- p. SA: Of you go to the NRDDDB you see how many people mix up.
- q. GW: You've also got to realise that there's a whole different approach.
- r. SA: We find most of our people are not sickly.
- s. SA: We recognise that most of our people here are not qualified.
- t. GW: It means that the stronger people can see the weak ones and then they can slowly develop.
- u. SA: I think it is reasonable for them to just accept what we decided upon.
- v. GW: Ah, but the fisherman on the ground actually might be more sceptical, I suppose.
- w. GW: In my opinion, Iwokrama's role should be reduced.
- x. GW: But not to, in my view, not to do the communicating.
- y. SA: I believe not everything they say is good.
- z. UF: Everybody felt that that it was a foreign company come into the country.
- a2. GW: If the knowledge is external and developed by external people and then you expect local people to apply it, they're not going to, they don't care.

## **Appendix 10: Quantitative systems networks for the use of projections.**

		S/r	A/r	Pr.	Bn.
affection(7):	choice(2)DECIDE TO	L(2)	L(2)	W(1)	L(1)
				D(1)	L(1)
	desire(5):			D(3)	L(3)
	state:strong(3)WANT	L(3)	L(3)	W(1)	L(1)
	request(2):unmarked(1)WANT	I(1)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
	restrained(1)WOULD LIKE	L(1)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
cognition(17):	knowledge(12):state(9):firm(6):fact(5)KNOW THAT	L(5)	L(4)	D(4)	L(4)
			I(1)	W(1)	L(1)
	skill(1)KNOW HOW	L(1)	L(1)	W(1)	L(1)
	median:impersonal(2)SEEM	L(2)	L(1)	W(1)	L(1)
			I(1)	D(1)	L(1)
	weak:personal(1)BELIEVE	L(1)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
	process(3):in passing(1)NOTICE	L(1)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
	from experience(2)SEE	L(2)	L(2)	D(2)	L(2)
opinion:(5):	firm(1):personal(1)RECOGNISE	L(1)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
	median(3):pseudomodalTHINK	L(3)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
			I(2)	W(1)	Jt(1)
				D(1)	L(1)
	weak:personal(1)BELIEVE	L(1)	I(1)	D(1)	L(1)

Mental Projections, Steve Andries. S/r=Senser; A/r=Actor in projected clause; Pr.=Process in projected clause; Bn=beneficiary.

		S/r	A/r	Pr.	Bn.
affection(16):	desire: state:strong(15)WANT	L(8)	L(8)	D(4)	L(4)
		I(7)	I(6)	W(4)	L(4)
				W(5)	L(1)
					Jt(4)
				D(1)	Jt(1)
	agree(1)AGREE	I(1)	Jt(1)	D(1)	L(1)
cognition(76):knowledge(28):state(21):firm(10):fact(8)KNOW		L(3)	I(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
			L(3)	W(1)	L(1)
				D(2)	L(2)
		I(5)	I(1)	W(1)	L(1)
			Jt(4)	W(2)	Jt(2)
				D(2)	Jt(2)
	skill(2)KNOW HOW	L(1)	L(1)	W(1)	L(1)
		I(1)	I(1)	D(1)	L(1)
	probable(2)SURE	I(2)	L(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
			I(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
	median(7):personal(7)THINK	L(1)	I(1)	W(1)	Jt(1)
		I(6)	L(3)	D(3)	L(2)
					Jt(1)
			I(3)	W(2)	Jt(2)
				D(1)	Jt(1)
	weak(2):personal(1)BELIEVE	I(1)	Jt(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
	background(1)ASSUME	I(1)	L(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
	process(7):understand(1)UNDERSTAND	L(1)	I(1)	W(1)	Jt(1)
	become aware(1)REALISE	I(1)	I(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
	from experience(4)SEE	L(1)	Jt(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
		I(3)	I(2)	D(2)	Jt(2)
			Jt(1)	W(1)	Jt(1)
	from study(1)FIND	I(1)	Jt(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
opinion(47):	firm(5):impersonal(4)MEANS THAT	L(1)	L(1)	W(1)	Jt(1)
		I(3)	L(2)	D(2)	L(2)
			I(1)	W(1)	Jt(1)
	personal(1)RECOGNISE	L(1)	L(1)	W(1)	L(1)
	median: (37): congruent(1)OPINION	I(1)	I(1)	D(1)	I(1)
	pseudomodal(35)THINK	L(4)	I(4)	W(4)	L(2)
					Jt(2)
		I(31)	L(3)	D(3)	L(3)
			I(12)	W(4)	L(1)
				D(8)	Jt(3)
					L(1)
					Jt(7)
			Jt(16)	D(16)	Jt(16)
	evidential(1)SUPPOSE	I(1)	I(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
weak(5):	congruent(2)VIEW	I(2)	I(2)	W(1)	Jt(1)
				D(1)	Jt(1)
	intuition(3)FEEL	L(2)	L(2)	D(2)	L(2)
		I(1)	L(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
expectation:congruent (1)EXPECT		I(1)	L(1)	W(1)	Jt(1)

*Mental Projections, Graham. S/r=Sensor; A/r=Actor in projected clause; Pr.=Process in projected clause; Bn =beneficiary.*

affection(9):	desire(7):state:	strong(3)WANT	L(3)	L(3)	D(3)	L(3)
		weak(4)HOPE	L(3)	Jt(3)	D(3)	Jt(3)
			I(1)	I(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
		request:constrained(2)WOULD LIKE	L(2)	L(2)	D(2)	L(2)
cognition(16):knowledge(9):state(4):firm(3):fact(2)KNOW			L(2)	L(1)	W(1)	L(1)
				I(1)	W(1)	L(1)
		skill(1)KNOW HOW	I(1)	I(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
		median(1):personal(1)THINK	L(1)	I(1)	W(1)	Jt(1)
	process(5):understand(1)UNDERSTAND		L(1)	L(1)	W(1)	L(1)
	in passing(1)NOTICE		L(1)	L(1)	D(1)	L(1)
	from experience(1)SEE		L(1)	I(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
	from study(2)FIND		L(2)	L(2)	D(2)	L(2)
opinion(7):	median: (6):	pseudomodal(6)THINK	L(6)	L(3)	D(3)	L(2)
						Jt(1)
				I(1)	D(1)	Jt(1)
				Jt(2)	D(2)	Jt(2)
	weak(1):	intuition(1)FEEL	L(1)	I(1)	D(1)	I(1)

Mental Projections, Uncle Fred. S/r=Senser; A/r=Actor in projected clause;  
Pr.=Process in projected clause; Bn =beneficiary.



**Appendix 11: The Amerindian Act, The NRDDDB Constitution and The Iwokrama Act.**

**LAWS OF GUYANA**

**AMERINDIAN ACT  
CHAPTER 29:01**

Act  
22 of 1951  
Amended by  
6 of 1961  
6 of 1976

**Current Authorised Pages**

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of

## Subsidiary Legislation

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Note  
on  
Repeal

This Act repealed the Aboriginal Indian Protection Ordinance Cap. 262 of the 1929 Edition.

CHAPTER 29:01

AMERINDIAN ACT

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

SECTION

1. Short title.
2. Interpretation.

PART I

AMERINDIAN DISTRICTS, AREAS AND VILLAGES

3. Establishment of Amerindian Districts, Areas and Villages.
4. Registered Amerindians entitled to reside in District, Area or Village.
5. Restriction on entry into District, Area or Village.
6. Offence.

PART II

REGISTRATION

7. Registration Officers.
8. Registration of Amerindians.
9. Manner of registration.
10. Production of certificate.
11. Offences.

PART III

PROTECTION OF PROPERTY AND LEGAL PROCEEDINGS ON BEHALF  
OF AMERINDIANS

12. Protection of property.
13. Informations and complaints.

PART IV

APPOINTMENT OF CAPTAINS

14. Captains.
15. Duties of captain.
16. Surrender of equipment.

## PART V

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

17. District and Area Councils.
18. Village Councils.
19. Functions of a Council.
20. Taxes.
- 20A. Vesting of lands for the benefit of members of an Amerindian Community.
21. Power of District, etc., Councils to make rules.
22. Power of District, etc., Councils to investigate breaches of rules and to impose penalties.
23. Offences.
24. Notes of evidence to be submitted to the Chief Officer.
25. Provisions relating to penalties recovered under sections 22 and 23.

## PART VI

## THE AMERINDIAN PURPOSES FUND

26. The Amerindian Purposes Fund.
27. Investment of Fund.
28. Expenditure of Fund.
29. Accounts.
30. Payment of monies into the Fund at the direction of the Minister.

## PART VII

## EMPLOYMENT OF AMERINDIANS

31. Employment of Amerindians.
32. Contract to be in writing and to be made in the presence of certain persons.
33. Sections 18 to 23 inclusive of Cap. 98:01, to apply to agreements.
34. Death of Amerindian during employment to be reported to the district commissioner.
35. Offences.

## PART VIII

## INTOXICATING LIQUOR

36. (1) Supply of intoxicating liquor to Amerindians prohibited.  
(2) Offence.
37. Penalty for possession of intoxicating liquor by Amerindians.
38. Exemptions.



## PART IX

## MISCELLANEOUS

39. Averment in complaint that any person is an Amerindian sufficient evidence of that fact.
40. Regulations.
41. Enticing wife of Amerindian.
42. Power of Chief Officer to exempt Amerindian from the Act.
43. Amendment of prior enactments relating to Aboriginal Indians.
44. Power of Minister to restrict the operation and extent of the Act.

## CHAPTER 29:01

## AMERINDIAN ACT

An Act to make provision for the good Government of the Amerindian Communities of Guyana.

1953 Ed.

c. 58

22 of 1951

[1ST SEPTEMBER, 1953]

1. This Act may be cited as the Amerindian Act.

Short title.

2. In this Act—

Interpretation.

“Amerindian” means—

[6 of 1976]

(a) any Indian who is a citizen of Guyana and is of a tribe indigenous to Guyana or to neighbouring countries;

(b) any descendant of an Amerindian within the meaning of paragraph (a) of this definition to whom, in the opinion of the Chief Officer, this Act should apply;

“Amerindian Community” means that group of Amerindians as are resident in an Amerindian District, Area or Village established under section 3;

“the Chief Officer” means the Chief Interior Development Officer, and includes any officer authorised in writing by the Minister to perform any of the functions of the Chief Officer for the purposes of this Act;

“district commissioner” includes an assistant district commissioner and any officer authorised in writing by the Minister to perform the functions of a district commissioner for the purposes of any of the provisions of this Act;

“intoxicating liquor” means any distilled, fermented or spirituous liquor of an intoxicating nature, and includes any liquor containing intoxicating liquor;

“officer” means any Government officer and includes any person authorised by the Chief Officer to perform any duties under this Act.

L.R.O. 1/1977

## PART I

## AMERINDIAN DISTRICTS, AREAS AND VILLAGES

Establishment  
of Amerindian  
Districts,  
Areas and  
Villages.  
[6 of 1976]  
Schedule

3. (1) This Act applies to the Amerindian Districts, Amerindian Areas and Amerindian Villages (hereinafter referred to as "Districts", "Areas" or "Villages", as the case may be) as are set out in the Schedule which the Minister may, by order, amend for the purposes of—

(a) inserting therein any portion of Guyana declared by the order to be a District, Area or Village;

(b) deleting therefrom any such portion as shall cease pursuant to the order to be a District, Area or Village; or

(c) varying the boundaries of any District, Area or Village, and any such order may make provision for the transfer or vesting of assets and liabilities as may become necessary consequent upon the aforementioned deletion or variation.

c. 28:03

(2) Where an order is made under subsection (1)(b) by reason of the land within the District, Area or Village being established as a local authority area within the meaning of the Local Authorities (Elections) Act, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any other law that order may provide that all titles, interests, assets and liabilities of the respective Council constituted under this Act be transferred to and vest in without further assurance in the local authority constituted in respect of that area.

Registered  
Amerindians  
entitled to  
reside in  
District, Area  
or Village.

4. Every Amerindian registered under this Act is entitled to reside in a District, Area or Village.

Restriction  
on entry into  
District, Area  
or Village.  
[6 of 1976]

5. (1) No person other than an Amerindian shall enter or remain within any District, Area or Village or any Amerindian settlement or encampment without lawful excuse or without the permission in writing of the Chief Officer.

(2) Any person aggrieved by the refusal of the Chief Officer to grant such permission may appeal to the Minister, whose decision shall be final.

Offence.  
[6 of 1976]

6. Any person who enters any District, Area, Village, settlement or encampment as aforesaid otherwise than in accordance with the permission in writing of the Chief Officer and without lawful excuse is liable on summary conviction to a fine of one hundred dollars.

## PART II

## REGISTRATION

7. There shall be a Registration Officer of Amerindians and such assistant registration officers for such parts of Guyana as the Minister may think fit. Registration Officers.

8. (1) Every Amerindian who has attained the age of twelve years shall be registered by the assistant registration officer appointed for that part of Guyana in which he resides. Registration of Amerindians. [6 of 1976]

(2) Any person whose application for registration as an Amerindian is refused or who is aggrieved by the registration of any other person as an Amerindian, may appeal to the Chief Officer, and any person as aforesaid who is dissatisfied with the decision of the Chief Officer may appeal to the Minister whose decision shall be final.

9. Upon the registration of any Amerindian, the assistant registration officer shall enter in a book to be kept by him for such purpose, the particulars of the Amerindian, and shall deliver to the Amerindian a certificate in the like form, and shall send a copy thereof to the Registration Officer. Manner of registration.

10. Every Amerindian registered as aforesaid, shall produce his certificate of registration within a reasonable time when requested to do so by any officer. Production of certificate.

11. Any Amerindian who, without reasonable excuse— Offences.

(a) lends or gives his certificate to any other Amerindian; or

(b) is found in possession of the certificate of any other Amerindian,

is liable on summary conviction to a fine of fifty dollars.

## PART III

## PROTECTION OF PROPERTY AND LEGAL PROCEEDINGS ON BEHALF OF AMERINDIANS

12. (1) The Chief Officer shall undertake the care, protection and management of the property of the Amerindians, and may— Protection of property. [6 of 1976]

(a) take possession of, retain, sell or dispose of the property of an Amerindian;

(b) in his own name sue for, recover or receive money or other property due to or belonging to an Amerindian, or damages for any conversion of or injury to such property;

(c) exercise in the name of an Amerindian any power which the Amerindian may exercise for his own benefit;

(d) in the name and on behalf of an Amerindian appoint any person to act as an attorney or agent of an Amerindian for any purpose connected with his property:

Provided that the powers conferred by this section shall not be exercised by the Chief Officer without the consent of the Amerindian, except in so far as may be necessary for the preservation of his property.

(2) The Chief Officer shall keep proper records and accounts of all moneys and other property received or dealt with by him under the provisions of this section.

Informations  
and com-  
plaints.  
[6 of 1961  
6 of 1976]

13. (1) The Chief Officer, a district commissioner, or any member of the police force may lay an information or complaint in his own name on behalf of any Amerindian against any person in the magistrates court having jurisdiction to hear and determine the offence or other matter alleged against that person.

(2) The information or complaint, and all proceedings arising out of the same, may be prosecuted or conducted before such court on behalf of the Amerindian by the person who laid the information or complaint, in pursuance of subsection (1), or by the Chief Officer, the district commissioner or any officer authorised in that behalf in writing by the Chief Officer.

(3) The Chief Officer, the district commissioner or an officer may, if necessary, appeal to any court having jurisdiction to hear an appeal against any decision arising out of proceedings instituted under this section, and may, for that purpose, retain the services of counsel, and in all respects take such steps on behalf of the Amerindian as he may think fit.

#### PART IV

##### APPOINTMENT OF CAPTAINS

Captains.  
[6 of 1976]

14. (1) The Chief Officer may, with the approval of the Minister appoint in writing any Amerindian he may think fit to be the captain of any District, Area or Village, and may at any time in like manner revoke any such appointment. Every such appointment or revocation thereof shall be published in the *Gazette*.

(2) Every captain shall have all the powers and immunities of a rural constable, and, subject to this Act, shall be subject to the control of the Chief Officer.

(3) Every captain shall be supplied at the public expense with a staff of office, a uniform and a short manual of the powers and duties of a rural constable.

15. It shall be the duty of every captain to carry out such instructions as may be issued to him by the Chief Officer or the district commissioner, to maintain order within the District, Area or Village in respect of which he has been appointed, and to report to the district commissioner any Amerindian who has not been registered under section 9.

Duties of  
captain.  
[6 of 1976]

16. Every captain shall, on ceasing to hold office, surrender to the district commissioner his uniform and staff of office within four weeks, and on failure to do so, is liable on summary conviction to a fine of fifty dollars.

Surrender of  
equipment.

## PART V

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT

17. (1) The Minister may in his discretion, by order, establish a District Council or an Area Council, which shall be a body corporate, for any District or Area as the case may be.

District and  
Area  
Councils.  
[6 of 1976]

(2) A District Council and an Area Council shall consist of—

- (a) the district commissioner;
- (b) a district officer;
- (c) the captains within the District or Area; and
- (d) such other persons as the Chief Officer, with the approval of the Minister, may appoint.

(3) In appointing any Amerindian to be a member of a District Council or Area Council, the Chief Officer shall pay due regard to the wishes of the inhabitants of the District or Area.

(4) Every person appointed to be a member of a District Council or Area Council shall hold office for a period of two years, but shall be eligible for re-appointment from time to time.

(5) At every meeting of a District Council or Area Council, the district commissioner shall be Chairman. In the absence of the district commissioner from any meeting, the district officer shall be Chairman for the purposes of that meeting.

(6) The Chief Officer with the approval of the Minister may revoke the appointment of any member of a Council at any time, and may in like manner appoint another person in place of the member whose appointment is revoked.

Village  
Councils  
[6 of 1976]

18. (1) The Chief Officer may establish a Village Council, which shall be a body corporate, for any Village.

(2) A Village Council shall consist of the captain of the Village, and such other persons as the Chief Officer having due regard to the wishes of the inhabitants of the Village, may appoint.

(3) Every person appointed to be a member of a Village Council shall hold office for a period of two years, but shall be eligible for re-appointment from time to time.

(4) At every meeting of a Village Council, the captain shall be the Chairman.

(5) The Chief Officer may revoke the appointment of any member of the Council at any time, and may appoint another person in place of the member whose appointment is revoked.

Functions of  
a Council  
[6 of 1976]

19. (1) Save as is otherwise provided in this Act, the functions of a District Council, an Area Council or a Village Council shall be—

(a) subject to section 20A, to hold for the benefit and use of the members of the Amerindian Community all the rights, titles and interests in or over the lands situate within the District, Area or Village as are conferred by this Act upon the Council;

(b) to manage and regulate the use and occupation of the lands mentioned in paragraph (a); and

(c) to discharge such other duties as may devolve upon the Council pursuant to rules or regulations made under this Act.

(2) The Chief Officer, with the approval of the Minister, may make rules prescribing the number to form a quorum and the procedure to be followed in the conduct of business by District, Area and Village Councils.

Taxes.  
[6 of 1976]

20. (1) A District Council, an Area Council or a Village Council may levy taxes upon the Amerindians resident in the District, Area or Village as the case may be.

(2) Any such tax shall be submitted for the approval of the Minister who may, either as regards the tax or the means proposed for the assessment or recovery thereof, allow or disallow the same, or make any variation, alteration or amendment thereto, except any increase of the tax, as he may think fit.



(3) The proceeds of any such tax shall be paid to the district commissioner and shall be utilised by him exclusively for the benefit of the District, Area or Village in respect of which it has been levied and raised, and for such purposes and in such manner as the Chief Officer may approve.

20A. (1) Subject to this section, all the rights, titles and interests of the State in and over the lands situate within the boundaries of any District, Area or Village shall without further assurance be deemed to be transferred to and vested in the respective Council for and on behalf of the Amerindian Community and the Registrar of Deeds, the Commissioner of Lands, the Conservator of Forests and the Commissioner of Geological Surveys and Mines shall take due notice of all transactions under this Act affecting lands and shall make such annotations on the records as may be necessary.

Vesting of  
lands for the  
benefit of  
members of an  
Amerindian  
Community.  
[6 of 1976]

(2) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in this Act, no title (including any rights of management or control, other than those as may be conferred by rules or regulations made under this Act) to—

(a) rivers and all lands sixty-six feet landwards from the mean-low water mark;

(b) minerals or mining rights in or over any land;

(c) land which is in use immediately prior to the coming into operation of this section for the landing or take off of aircraft or which may hereafter be duly designated by the competent authority as land for the purpose;

(d) buildings and installations (including the land whereon they are situate within such boundaries as have been demarcated or otherwise established immediately prior to the coming into operation of this section, by usage or otherwise in relation to such buildings or installations) being the property of the State,

shall be deemed to have been transferred to, or vested in a Council.

(3) If within one year after the coming into operation of this section the Minister considers it expedient that any right, title or interest held by any person, other than the State, in or over those lands as are situate within a District, Area or Village should in the interest of the residents therein be held by the Council thereof for the benefit and use of those residents, the Minister may, by writing under his hand and subject to such terms and conditions as may be mentioned herein, direct—

(a) in the case of any land held by any person under a transport or an absolute grant, the Registrar of Deeds or the Commissioner of Lands, as the case may be, to effect the transfer to that Council upon the expiration of not less than

six months' notice in writing by the Registrar of Deeds or the Commissioner of Lands, as the case may be, to that person;

(b) in the case of any right, title or interest in land, held otherwise than by transport or absolute grant, the Council of which that right, title or interest is held as successor to the State pursuant to subsection (1), to effect the determination of such right, title or interest upon the expiration of not less than six months' notice in writing by that Council to the holder thereof,

and notwithstanding any law to the contrary that transfer or determination, shall be deemed—

(i) to be good and effectual in law for all purposes;

(ii) to have transferred, in the case of land held under a transport or an absolute grant, the title thereto without further assurance to the Council; and

(iii) to confer no right to compensation save to such extent, if any, as the Minister may have specified in the terms mentioned in his direction.

(4) It shall be deemed a condition of every title or interest in land to which subsection (1) applies that—

(a) such title or interest may be revoked or modified by the Minister upon notice served on the Council and published in the *Gazette* where he is satisfied that the land or any portion thereof should be repossessed by the State in the public interest subject to, save in the circumstances mentioned in paragraphs (b), (c) and (d), the payment of compensation to the respective Amerindian Community determined in accordance with the provisions of the Acquisition of Lands for Public Purposes Act or to the giving to that Community of land to the value of that repossessed;

c. 62:05

(b) such titles or interests may be modified or revoked by the Minister upon notice to the respective Council for the purposes of enabling the resumption of occupation by the State of such land or portion thereof as is situated within a distance of ten miles from any of the international boundaries of Guyana, where the Minister is satisfied that such occupation is necessary in the interest of defence, public safety or order;

(c) save as may otherwise be provided by regulations, any assignment, sale or other disposal of such title or interest without the approval in writing of the Minister, shall be void and the title or interest forfeited to the State; and

(d) such title or interest is liable to forfeiture by the Minister upon notice published to that effect in the *Gazette* where he is

satisfied that members of the Amerindian Community on whose behalf that title or interest is held under this Act have shown themselves by act or speech to be disloyal or disaffected towards the State or have done any voluntary act which is incompatible with their loyalty to the State:

Provided that no forfeiture shall occur unless—

(i) the Minister, having by written notice invited the respective Council to show cause why the proposed forfeiture should not be made, is still of the opinion after considering such representations (if any) as may have been made to him within twenty-eight days from the date of receipt of the written notice that such forfeiture should be effected; and

(ii) the Minister is satisfied that it is not conducive in the public interest that the right, title or interest be continued to be held by the Amerindian Community.

(5) The provisions of subsection (4) shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to any successor in title of a Council to land to which subsection (1) applies.

(6) The Minister may, by order, direct that during the continuance of the order subsection (1) shall not apply to such District, Area or Village or that the subsection shall apply subject to such modifications, qualifications and exceptions, as may be specified in the order relating to such District, Area or Village.

1. (1) A District, Area or Village Council may, with the approval of the Minister, make rules for any of the following purposes:

Power of District, etc., Councils to make rules.

(a) the provision, maintenance and regulation of food and water supplies;

(b) the prohibition of the poisoning or pollution of the waters of any river or stream;

(c) the improvement of sanitation;

(d) the establishment and regulation of markets;

(e) the development of agriculture and livestock;

(f) the felling of timber, and the fees to be paid in respect hereof;

(g) prescribing or prohibiting certain methods of trapping;

(h) the preservation of roads, buildings, culverts or airstrips;

(i) the prevention of grass or bush fires;

(j) the prevention of soil erosion;

(k) the restriction of the manufacture or possession of *piwarri* or any similar intoxicating liquor;

(l) prescribing the method of assessing any taxes, and prescribing means for the recovery thereof by the seizure and sale by public auction of the movable property of a defaulting Amerindian;

(m) regulating and prescribing the manner in which lands under the control of the Council may be used; and

(n) for such other purposes as the Minister may, from time to time approve.

(2) Any such rules shall, if approved, be published in the *Gazette*, and shall come into force on such day as the Minister may appoint

(3) The Minister may at any time cancel or annul any rule made or in force under this section.

Power of District, etc., Councils to investigate breaches of rules and to impose penalties.

22. (1) A District Council, an Area Council or a Village Council may direct any captain to require any Amerindian within the District, Area or Village, who is alleged to have failed to comply with any rules made under section 21, to appear before the Council.

(2) Upon the appearance of any Amerindian as aforesaid before the Council, the Council shall proceed to investigate the matter in the presence of such Amerindian, and if satisfied that the Amerindian has failed to comply with the requirements of the rule without reasonable excuse, the Council may impose upon the Amerindian a fine of twenty dollars:

Provided that the Council shall not hold any investigation or impose any fine under this section in the absence of the district commissioner or an officer.

(3) Every investigation by a Council under this section shall be conducted in a summary manner without regard to matters of form, and it shall be the duty of such Council to do substantial justice in all such questions coming before them.

(4) The district commissioner or officer, as the case may be, shall take notes of the evidence given at any proceedings under this section.

Offences.

23. Any Amerindian who refuses to appear before a Council when required so to do under section 22(1), or who, although possessed of sufficient means so to do, fails to pay any fine lawfully imposed by a Council under section 22(2), is liable on summary conviction to a fine of fifty dollars.

Notes of evidence to be submitted to the Chief Officer.  
[6 of 1976]

24. Where any penalty has been imposed on any Amerindian under section 22(2), the district commissioner or officer, as the case may be, shall submit the notes of the evidence to the Chief Officer who may confirm, vary or remit such penalty as he may think fit.

25. All fines recovered under sections 22 and 23 shall be paid to the district commissioner, and shall be deposited by him in a Bank and shall be utilized by him, for the benefit of the District, Area or Village in respect of which the fine has been imposed for such purpose and in such manner as the Chief Officer may approve.

Provisions relating to penalties recovered under sections 22 and 23. [6 of 1976]

## PART VI

### THE AMERINDIAN PURPOSES FUND

26. There shall be established a Fund to be styled the Amerindian Purposes Fund (hereinafter referred to as "the Fund") into which shall be paid all moneys lying to the credit of the fund known as the Aboriginal Indian Reservation Fund.

The Amerindian Purposes Fund.

27. The Fund shall be deposited with the Accountant General who may invest the Fund or any part thereof in such securities as the Minister may from time to time approve and the interest thereon shall form part of the Fund.

Investment of Fund.

28. The Fund shall be expended by the Chief Officer solely for the benefit of the Amerindians of Guyana in such manner as the Minister may from time to time direct, but no expenditure for which provision has been made in the annual estimates of Guyana shall be borne by the Fund.

Expenditure of Fund. [6 of 1976]

29. The accounts of the Fund shall be kept by the Chief Officer who shall prepare an annual account of the receipts and payments of the Fund made up to the 31st December in each year, together with a statement showing the investments and the cash balance of the fund as certified by the Accountant General, and of any other assets of the Fund. Such annual account and statement shall, after approval by the Accountant General, be submitted to the Director of Audit, and when audited shall be laid before the Minister.

Accounts. [6 of 1976]

30. Nothing in this Act shall preclude the payment of moneys into the Fund from time to time in pursuance of any directions of the Minister in that behalf.

Payment of monies into the Fund at the direction of the Minister. [6 of 1961]

## PART VII

### EMPLOYMENT OF AMERINDIANS

31. (1) Any person who at the commencement of this Act has in his employ any Amerindian may, with the consent of the district commissioner, continue to employ such Amerindian on such terms and conditions as the district commissioner may approve.

Employment of Amerindians. [6 of 1961]

L.R.O. 1/1977



(2) Subject to subsection (1), no person shall employ any Amerindian otherwise than by way of casual labour without the permission in writing of the district commissioner first had and obtained, and on such terms and conditions as the district commissioner may approve.

(3) Any person may employ an Amerindian by way of casual labour for a period not exceeding fourteen days at such rates of pay and subject to such conditions of service as shall have been approved by the district commissioner. These conditions may be altered from time to time by the district commissioner.

(4) Any permission granted under this section may be revoked by the district commissioner at any time, and the Amerindian may hereupon be removed, by order of the district commissioner, to a District, Area or Village or may be permitted to enter the employ of some fit and proper person.

(5) Notwithstanding anything contained in this section, the Chief Officer or the district commissioner may give permission in writing to any fit and proper person to employ Amerindians for any specified period not exceeding six months, without specifying the Amerindians to be so employed, on such person depositing with him the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars for every Amerindian so employed, or upon entering into a bond in such sum and with such sureties as may be approved, as security for the payment of the wages of the Amerindians. Such permission may be revoked at any time by the Chief Officer or the district commissioner, as the case may be.

Contract to be in writing and to be made in the presence of certain persons.

32. (1) Every person who desires to employ an Amerindian otherwise than in the manner specified in section 31(3) shall enter into a written agreement with such Amerindian in the presence of an officer or a justice of the peace.

(2) The agreement shall contain—

- (a) the names of the parties thereto;
- (b) the nature of the services to be performed;
- (c) the duration of the employment;
- (d) the remuneration to be paid by the employer;
- (e) a description of the living accommodation, if any, to be provided by the employer; and
- (f) the conditions on which the agreement may be determined by either party.

(3) The agreement shall be in duplicate, and shall be attested by an officer or a justice of the peace, or a member of the Police Force and a copy of the agreement shall be forwarded by the attesting party to the district commissioner.



33. Sections 18 to 23 (inclusive) of the Labour Act, shall apply to every contract of employment entered into under this Act.

Sections 18 to 23 inclusive of Cap. 98:01 to apply to agreements. Death of Amerindian during employment to be reported to the district commissioner.

34. If any Amerindian employed under this Act dies during his period of employment, the employer shall, within fourteen days, forward to the district commissioner a notice of the death of such Amerindian, together with such particulars as will enable the deceased Amerindian to be identified.

35. Any person who—

Offences.  
[6 of 1976]

(a) employs any Amerindian otherwise than in accordance with this Part; or

(b) without the approval of the Chief Officer or an officer suffers any Amerindian to be or remain upon any premises in his occupation or under his control without reasonable cause or excuse,

is liable on summary conviction to a fine of two hundred dollars:

Provided that no person shall be convicted under this section where he satisfies the court that he did not know that the person employed or on the premises, as the case may be, was an Amerindian.

## PART VIII

### INTOXICATING LIQUOR

36. (1) No person shall sell, barter, supply or give intoxicating liquor to any Amerindian, or to any person for consumption by an Amerindian.

Supply of intoxicating liquor to Amerindians prohibited. Offence.

(2) Any person who sells, barter, supplies or gives to any person any intoxicating liquor in contravention of the provisions of subsection (1) is liable on summary conviction to a fine of one hundred dollars.

37. Any Amerindian in any Area, District or Village who is found in possession of intoxicating liquor otherwise than in accordance with the terms and conditions of a licence granted to him in that behalf by the district commissioner is liable on summary conviction to a fine of fifty dollars.

Penalty for possession of intoxicating liquor by Amerindians.

38. This Part does not apply to—

Exemptions.

(a) the sale, barter, supply or gift of intoxicating liquor to be used in case of illness by the direction of a registered medical practitioner or sicknurse and dispenser, or where such in-

L.R.O. 1/1977

toxicating liquor is supplied with the permission of a district commissioner or an officer, or by a minister of religion; or

(b) the manufacture and consumption by Amerindians of the intoxicating liquor known as *piwarri*, or any similar intoxicating liquor in accordance with any custom prevailing among Amerindians.

## PART IX

### MISCELLANEOUS

Averment in  
complaint  
that any  
person is an  
Amerindian  
sufficient  
evidence of  
that fact.  
Regulations.

39. In every prosecution for an offence against any of the provisions of this Act, an averment in the complaint that any person named therein is an Amerindian shall be sufficient evidence of that fact unless the contrary is proved.

40. (1) The Minister may make regulations for the proper administration of Districts, Areas and Villages and generally for any of the purposes of this Act.

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, the Minister may make regulations—

(a) prescribing the mode of removing Amerindians to a District, Area or Village, or from one District, Area or Village to another;

(b) prescribing the manner of keeping accounts of any moneys received under this Act;

(c) providing for the care, custody and education of children of Amerindians;

(d) prescribing the conditions under which the children of Amerindians may be apprenticed to or placed in service with suitable persons;

(e) maintaining discipline and good order in Districts, Areas and Villages; and

(f) prohibiting any rites and customs which, in the opinion of the Minister, are injurious to the welfare of Amerindians.

Enticing  
wife of  
Amerindian.

41. Every person, other than an Amerindian, who entices away or cohabits with the wife of any Amerindian is liable on summary conviction to a fine of five hundred dollars:

Provided that no person shall be convicted under this section where it is established to the satisfaction of the Court that the wife was deserted by her husband and/or compelled to leave his home.

42. (1) The Chief Officer may, where he thinks it desirable so to do, grant a certificate to any Amerindian exempting such Amerindian from the provisions of this Act, and thereupon such Amerindian shall, while such certificate remains in force, for the purposes of any of the provisions of any Act or regulations relating to Amerindians, be deemed not to be an Amerindian.

Power of  
Chief Officer  
to exempt  
Amerindians  
from the Act.  
[6 of 1976]

(2) Any such certificate as aforesaid may, with the consent of the Amerindian, be revoked by the Chief Officer where he considers it desirable so to do.

43. Where the provisions of any Act or regulation enacted or made prior to the commencement of this Act contain references to Aboriginal Indians, every such reference shall be deemed to be a reference to Amerindians within the meaning of this Act.

Amendment  
of prior  
enactments  
relating to  
Aboriginal  
Indians.

44. (1) Subject to this section, the Minister may from time to time, by order, declare that this Act shall not apply to such parts of Guyana as may be specified in such order, and this Act shall thereupon have effect accordingly.

Power of  
Minister to  
restrict the  
operation and  
extent of the  
Act.

(2) Orders made under this section may from time to time be published with respect to such of the provisions of this Act as may be specified in such orders, and with respect to such provisions this Act shall have effect accordingly.

## Constitution of the North Rupununi District Development Board

*following are the rules and regulations governing the business and activities of the North Rupununi District Development Board.*

### NAME & CONSTITUTION:

The organisation shall be called the North Rupununi District Development Board, hereafter referred to as the District Development Board.

The District Development Board shall be comprised of representatives from the following North Rupununi District communities: Rewa, Apoteri, Kurupukari, Surama, Wowetta, Rupertee, Matamang, Annai, Aranaputa, Yakarinta, Massara, Toka.

It will be a fully autonomous body free of any party political, religious or other institutional affiliation. It will seek to represent the interests of its constituent communities and to facilitate the development of these. It will be established as a non-governmental, not-for-profit, community-based organisation which will act as an umbrella for convening the elected representatives of the twelve North Rupununi communities as listed above.

### AIMS

The overall aim of the District Development Board is to represent the interests of its constituent communities and to facilitate the general development of these. One of the key functions of the District Development Board is to serve as the formal consultative and decision-making body on behalf of the stakeholder communities in the implementation of the Iwokrama International Rain Forest Programme. In this regard the District Development Board reserves the right to nominate a Merindian Representative to sit on the Iwokrama Board of Trustees in accordance with the Iwokrama Act.

### OBJECTIVES

To facilitate and encourage short, medium and long-term community development initiatives within the North Rupununi sub-district and to ensure that such initiatives provide benefits for and in the interests of its constituent communities.

To monitor the effects of the Iwokrama Programme and all other regional, national and international programmes and / or initiatives upon its constituent communities, to offset any adverse effects on these and to formulate plans within the stakeholder framework of the Iwokrama Programme and other such agencies in the interest of the communities and to lobby for the implementation of such plans.

To bring together its constituent communities so as to formulate the direction of district development, to assist in implementing policy, and to bring about co-ordination of activities in the interest of its constituent communities.

To encourage and facilitate a process of consultation, collaboration, collective planning and mutual networking amongst Regional and District authorities, local government bodies, NGOs and other organisations involved in the management and development of its constituent communities.

To create communication links among its membership and its constituent communities; and between these and the Iwokrama Programme and all other relevant local and international organisations, and to network and establish relations with such organisations where possible.

To serve as a forum where its constituent communities can express concerns, find resolutions and implement actions.

To mobilise resources and generate income so as to facilitate and support community-development initiatives and the other objectives and activities of the District Development Board.

To promote and to encourage the involvement of women in decision-making and participation in all community plans and projects.

To encourage the development of youths within its constituent communities, and to secure support opportunities for their advancement.

## MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the District Development Board will consist of an elected member from each of the twelve constituent communities, in addition, not less than four representatives will be nominated by the women's groups to serve on the District Development Board.

All constituent community representatives elected and/ or appointed to the District Development Board must be bona fide residents of the communities.

The District Development Board reserves the right to appoint ex-officio or honorary members. These ex-officio or honorary members are to include the Manager of the Iwokrama Station, the District Development Officer and the Minister responsible for Amerindian Affairs, or his/her representative; as well as any other regional administrative person as may be nominated to by the elected members of the District Development Board.

The District Development Board reserves the right to co-opt to its membership other persons on an ad hoc advisory basis as it sees fit.

## STRUCTURE

### Office Bearers

The District Development Board shall elect office bearers from its ranks consisting of a Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson, a Secretary and Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer. All elected office bearers shall have full participatory and voting rights. The office bearers shall be elected for one year, with a maximum of two consecutive terms in office.

### Board Members

All other community representatives elected to serve on the District Development Board will be board members with full participatory and voting rights. All board members shall be elected for one year, with a maximum of two consecutive terms in office.

### Employees:

The District Development Board shall be free to engage by contract, salaried staff such as an Administrative Secretary / Accountant, a clerical assistant, and a book-keeper. These persons will be appointed as employees of the District Development Board, without voting rights. The duties and responsibilities of these employees shall be set out by the District Development Board in the terms of reference as per contract of any such employees.

### Management Committee

Elected office bearers shall constitute the Management Committee of the District Development Board. The official employees as described above may be appointed to serve on the Management Committee.

### Other Appointed Members:

All other ex-officio, honorary or ad hoc members appointed to the District Development Board will not have voting rights.

Any such appointed member attending will by means of notification of the board participate in the business of board meetings.

In the event of the bona fide absence of any elected member, his / her authorised representative should be awarded the same legal rights as the elected member.

### Duties of the Chairperson:

The chairperson shall preside over the meetings of the District Development Board and shall ensure that they are conducted in a proper, efficient and democratic manner. (In the event that the chairperson does not function efficiently, it may be necessary to call a vote of no confidence).

In the event of the Chairperson being unable to perform his/her duties, the Deputy Chairperson shall perform the duties of the Chairperson until the elected chairperson can resume his/her duties or a new chairperson is elected by the District Community Board.

*(The details of duties for office bearers are not prescribed at this stage, but will be considered, discussed and decided by the Board and included as amendments to the Constitution.)*

DISTRICT COMMUNITY BOARD



**Disciplinary Committee:**

A disciplinary committee shall be formed from the executive body to settle disputes which arise.

1. Any member being absent for three consecutive scheduled meetings without proper reason shall be dismissed from the board.

**MEETINGS:**

The District Development Board shall meet on a bi-monthly basis, and shall reserve the right to convene any other meeting as may be deemed necessary.

**Quorum**

Two-thirds of the membership of the District Development Board shall constitute a quorum for any meeting of the Board. Two-thirds of the membership of the Management Committee shall likewise constitute a quorum for any meetings of the Management Committee.

**FINANCING:**

The District Development Board shall establish a fund, to be serviced by contributions and other fund-raising efforts to be organised by its members.

Contributions to the Fund may be solicited from funding agencies, companies, individuals and other sources agreed to and sanctioned by the membership of the Board.

Each board member is to contribute a fixed amount of whatever can be afforded by his / her constituent community on a bi-monthly basis.

Funding and other assistance will also be sought for specific projects approved by the membership.

All such funds shall be used solely for the administrative and logistical needs of the District Development Board and / or for the welfare and development of the constituent communities.

**AUDIT & INSPECTION OF BOOKS**

The books and accounts of the District Development Board shall be presented to the Registrar for audit as prescribed in Section 27 of the Friendly Societies Act 36;04. An annual audit of the books and accounts will be undertaken by a recognised audit and accounting firm.

**Annual Return** The audited report will be presented to the Registrar of Friendly Societies as the official *Annual Return* of the District Development Board.

THE DISTRICT  
DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The books and accounts of the District Development Board shall be available for inspection by any member or person having an interest of the funds and financing of the District Development Board through the Management Committee. Copies of the last annual balance sheet and other special report of the auditors shall be held at the respective Village Council Offices or Community Centres where appropriate.

#### **THE SEAL**

The District Development Board shall have a seal in the form of a Rubber Stamp. The seal shall be affixed to all correspondence and should be kept by the Secretary.

#### **REGISTERED OFFICE**

The Registered Office of the District Development Board shall be at the Annai Village Council office in Annai, North Rupununi.

The Registered Office of the District Development Board shall not be changed except by the decision of a special general meeting.

In the event of any change in the situation of the registered office, notice of such change shall be sent to the Registrar of Friendly Societies within fourteen (14) days thereafter.

#### **TIMING OF ELECTIONS:**

Elections will be held on the last week of every year.

#### **AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION**

The constitution of the District Development Board shall be amended as time and situation demands. Any such amendment will be arrived at by the consensus of its members. No new or amended rules is valid until registered with the Registrar of Friendly Societies.

**IWOKRAMA INTERNATIONAL CENTRE  
FOR RAIN FOREST CONSERVATION  
AND DEVELOPMENT ACT 1996**

**VO KRAMA**

**ONAL CENTRE FOR RAIN FOREST CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT  
GUYANA**

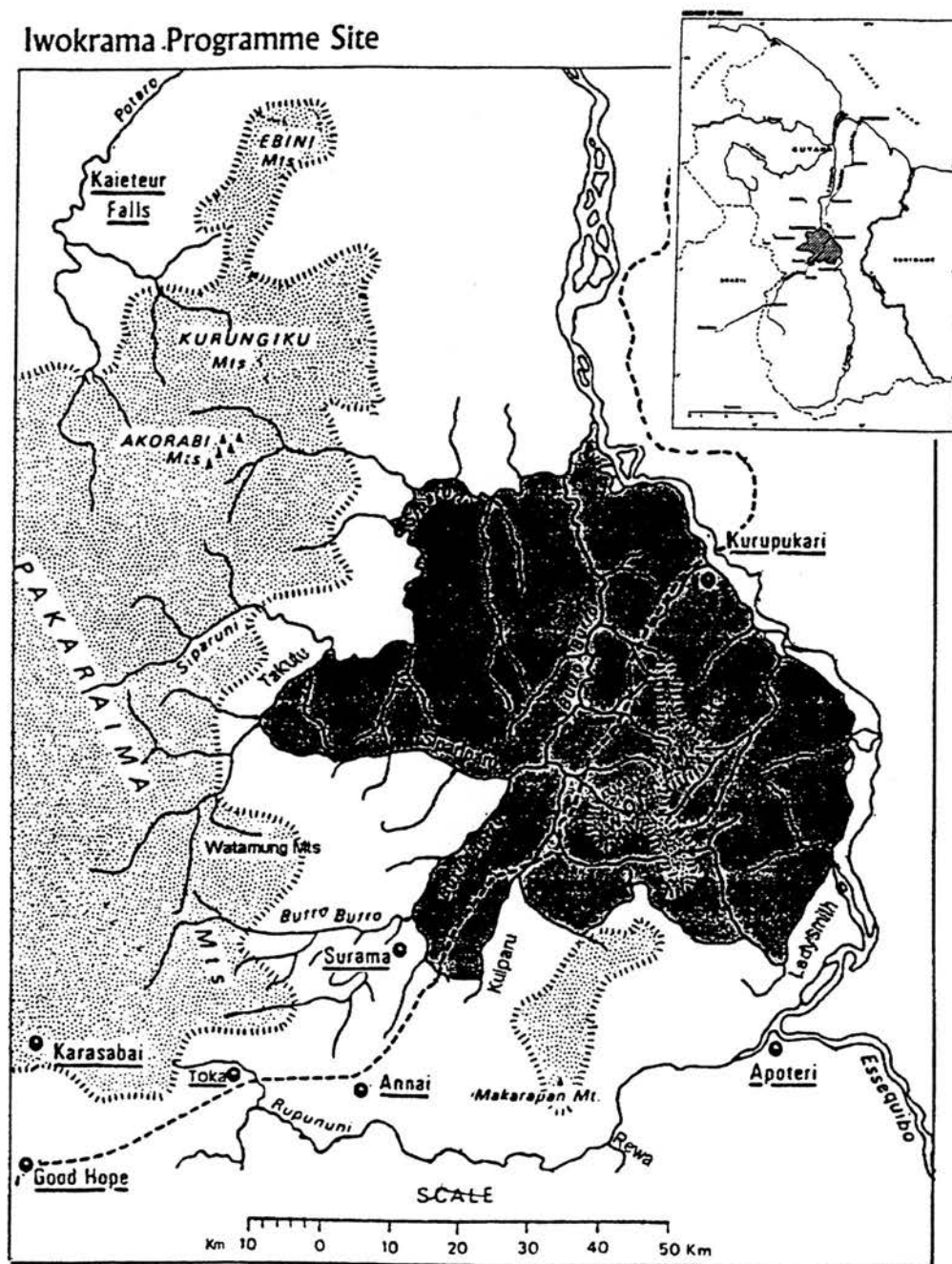
## FIRST SCHEDULE S.4(1)

The tract of State land commences at the mouth and on the right bank of the Siparuni River, left bank Essequibo River, and its boundaries extend thence up the right bank Siparuni River to the mouth of the Takutu River, thence up the right bank Takutu River to the mouth of an unnamed creek situate at latitude  $4^{\circ}25'54''$  N, longitude  $59^{\circ}16'00''$  W (approx) thence up the right bank of the said unnamed creek to its source, thence due East (approx) for 2.5 kilometres (approx) to the left bank of an unnamed creek, thence down the left bank of the said unnamed creek to the left bank Sipariparu River, thence down the left bank Sipariparu River to the left bank Burro Burro River, thence across and up the right bank Burro Burro River to the mouth of Surama River, thence up the right bank Surama River to the Surama Lake, thence along the mean high water mark line on the northern shore of the Surama Lake to the mouth of the Manicole Creek, thence up the right bank Manicole Creek for about 4.4 kilometres, to a point opposite the mouth of an unnamed creek, thence up the right bank of the said unnamed creek to its source, thence due East for about 2.0 kilometres to the left bank Maushiparu River, thence down the left bank Maushiparu River, to a point opposite the mouth of an unnamed river situate at latitude  $4^{\circ}14'40''$  N, longitude  $58^{\circ}55'16''$  W, (approx), thence up the right bank of the said unnamed river, circling the southern foothills of the Iwokrama Mountains, to a point near its source at latitude  $4^{\circ}10'57''$  N, longitude  $58^{\circ}42'13''$  W (approx), thence in a South South Easterly direction (approx), along the winding track shown on topographic sheet No. 56 SE of the Lands and Surveys Department, for about 4.4 kilometres to a point situate at latitude  $4^{\circ}08'45''$  N, longitude  $58^{\circ}41'13''$  W (approx) on the left bank and near the source of an unnamed creek, thence down the left bank of the said unnamed creek to the left bank Ladysmith River, thence down the left bank Ladysmith River to the left bank Essequibo River, thence down the left bank Essequibo River to the point of commencement, at the mouth and on the right bank of Siparuni River.

MAP to FIRST SCHEDULE s.4(1)

# MAP OF IWOKRAMA

Iwokrama Programme Site



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## SECOND SCHEDULE ss.2,13

## AGREEMENT

between

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
CO-OPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA

and

THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

for the establishment of the

IWOKRAMA INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR  
RAIN FOREST CONSERVATION  
AND DEVELOPMENT



13

## AGREEMENT

between

THE GOVERNMENT OF GUYANA

and

THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

for the establishment of the

IWOKRAMA INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR  
RAIN FOREST CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

## PREAMBLE

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## PREAMBLE

WHEREAS the President of Guyana, at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at Kuala Lumpur in 1989, offered to make available a part of Guyana's tropical rain forest (since determined to be 360,000 hectares) for use by the international community, under Commonwealth auspices, for developing and demonstrating methods for the sustainable utilisation of tropical rain forest resources and the conservation of biological diversity;

NOW THEREFORE, the Contracting Parties, being the Government of Guyana and the Commonwealth Secretariat:

REAFFIRMING the agreements of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development adopted in Brazil in June 1992;

CONSCIOUS of the need for the Iwokrama International Centre to enable national and international linkages in developing, managing and promoting the sustainable management of tropical rain forests and to facilitate international cooperation in forest research, training and communication activities;

AWARE that the subject of forests is related to the entire range of environmental and development issues and opportunities, including the right to socio-economic development on a sustainable basis;

ACKNOWLEDGING that there is rich biological and cultural diversity in tropical rain forests which can be sustainably managed to meet the social, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual human needs of present and future generations;

RECOGNISING the identity, culture and the right of indigenous people, their communities and other communities and forest dwellers;

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

CHAPTER I

THE INTERNATIONAL CENTRE

Article 1

Iwokrama International Centre, Iwokrama International  
Rain Forest Programme

The Iwokrama International Centre for Rain Forest Conservation and Development shall implement the Iwokrama Rain Forest Programme by undertaking research, training and the development of technologies which will promote the conservation and the sustainable and equitable use of tropical rain forests in a manner that will lead to lasting ecological, economic and social benefits to the people of Guyana and to the world in general.

Article 2

The Nature and Objectives of the Programme

The Programme shall be a collaborative effort of Guyana and the international community. Its principal objectives shall be to conserve biological diversity and promote sustainable management and utilisation of the Programme Site; and to study, develop and demonstrate methods and techniques for the conservation and equitable and sustainable utilisation of tropical rain forests that will bring lasting ecological, economic and social benefits to the people of Guyana and contribute to the world's knowledge of critical aspects of rain forest management and development.

Article 3

Interpretation

In this Agreement -

- (a) "Act" means the Iwokrama International Centre for Rain Forest Conservation and Development Programme Act 1996.
- (b) "Biological Diversity", "Programme Site", "Sustainable Utilisation" and "Wilderness Preserve" have the meanings assigned to them by section 2 of the Act;
- (c) "Board" means the Board of Trustees, established under Article 11, being an organ of the Centre, which is declared a body corporate under section 3(1) of the Act.

## Article 4

Location of Headquarters, Campus, Laboratories, etc

The headquarters and campus of the Centre with its associated laboratories, and other research, training, communications and related facilities, shall be located at Turkeyen, Greater Georgetown, in an area of land belonging to the University of Guyana, as agreed between the Government of Guyana and the University of Guyana, which land shall be demarcated and made available by the University for the use of the Centre.

## Article 5

Core Programmes of the Iwokrama International Centre

The Centre shall have major core programmes for its research and training activities which shall include -

- (a) sustainable management of the tropical rain forest;
- (b) conservation and utilisation of biodiversity;
- (c) forestry research;
- (d) sustainable human development; and
- (e) information and communication.

## Article 6

Main Activities and Functions of the Iwokrama International Centre

1. The activities of the Centre are to -

- (a) identify needs for planning and carrying out research, developing and making available methods and systems for the sustainable management and utilisation of the multiple resources of tropical forests and the conservation of biological diversity;
- (b) demonstrate that tropical rain forests can maintain biological diversity while supporting economic activity;
- (c) determine research priorities and enable scientists and scholars to conduct research;
- (d) make necessary organisational and institutional arrangements for carrying out research programmes and projects;



- (e) conduct training in sustainable tropical forestry management, utilisation and the conservation of biological diversity;
- (f) elaborate any proposals for action including specific projects for external financing;
- (g) identify and contact potential external sources of funding for the execution of the activities of the Centre;
- (h) promote effective links between research organisations, extension services and the scientific community;
- (i) establish and strengthen links to existing information systems in order to speed up exchange of information on research, and training opportunities at international, national and regional institutions;
- (j) organise and support symposia and seminars for the interchange and dissemination of ideas and information related to the management of the rain forest;
- (k) endeavour to preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable utilisation of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices; and encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilisation of such knowledge, innovations and practices;
- (l) establish linkages with relevant individuals, groups and organisations in Guyana and elsewhere for the exchange of information and ideas on matters relating to the work of the Centre; and
- (m) do all acts and things as may be found necessary, expedient, suitable or proper for the furtherance, accomplishment or attainment of any of the purposes and activities herein stated, or which shall appear, at any time, as conducive to or necessary and useful for the purposes and activities of the Centre.

2. The functions of the Centre are to -

- (a) undertake inventories and surveys of the Programme Site, prepare plans for, approve and undertake any works necessary for the development, protection and efficient management of the areas in the Programme Site, the Field Stations for the Centre and the corridor for the Surama-Kurupukari Road which passes through the Programme Site;

- (b) act as the principal agency or as co-ordinating agency for facilitating the undertaking of approved research programmes;
- (c) initiate and support the implementation of projects relating to the commercial utilisation of the Programme Site;
- (d) implement proper accounting procedures relating to all matters over which the Board has control, including the preparation of short and long terms budgets;
- (e) seek such other assistance as may be necessary for the purpose of securing the attainment of the objectives of the Programme;
- (f) adopt such measures as are practical and consistent with the purpose for which the Programme is established;
- (g) engage in such other activities and perform such other functions as in the opinion of the Board are calculated to facilitate the proper discharge of its functions or are incidental thereto.

#### Article 7

##### Co-operation Arrangements

1. The Centre shall encourage and facilitate the fullest co-operation in its activities by the international community in such a manner as may further its purposes or advance the objectives of the Programme, and shall take such measures as it may deem appropriate under the provisions of the Act or this Agreement to promote such co-operation.
2. The Centre may enter into such co-operative, collaborative and consultative arrangements with appropriate authorities in Guyana and outside Guyana for the development, management, protection and utilisation of the multiple resources of the Programme Site as may be necessary to achieve the objectives of the Programme.
3. The Centre may also enter into such joint research and other arrangements with relevant research or other organisations, entities, agencies or foundations or with private or public sector industry in Guyana and outside Guyana as may advance its purposes or benefit the Programme.

## Article 8

Rights in Discoveries, Inventions and Improvements

1. The right in all discoveries and inventions and all improvements in respect of processes, apparatuses and machines made by an officer of the Centre or by any other person through the use of the Programme Site or the facilities of the Centre shall vest in and be the property of the Centre and shall be made available for use in the international community subject to such terms and conditions including the payment of such fees or royalties as the Centre may determine:  
Provided that the Government of Guyana shall have access to such discoveries, inventions and improvements in respect of processes, apparatuses and machines free of charge.
2. The Centre may, out of the funds of the Centre, pay to an officer of the Iwokrama International Centre who has made any discovery, invention or improvement referred to in paragraph 1 such reward or make such provision for the officer to benefit financially from that discovery, invention or improvement, as the Centre may determine.
3. The Centre shall develop and adopt procedures for recognising and rewarding the contributions of Amerindian and other rural communities in the conservation and improvement of genetic resources of economically useful plant and animal species. The Centre shall also take steps to protect, recognise and reward the intellectual knowledge and contribution of indigenous communities in the field of sustainable forest management through an appropriate intellectual property rights system.
4. The Centre may apply for letters patent in respect of any invention made by any officer of the Centre and shall, for the purpose of the Patents and Designs Act, Cap. 90:03 of the Laws of Guyana, be deemed the inventor.

## Article 9

Report on Activities

The Centre shall, for submission on request of, or for the inspection of a member of the Donor Support Group or other donors, within three months after the end of each financial year, prepare a full explicit report of its activities throughout the preceding year and attach thereto a statement of accounts of the Centre audited in accordance with Article 20.

## Article 10

Office and Seal of the Iwokrama International Centre

1. The principal office of the Centre shall be located at its premises at Turkeyen, Greater Georgetown, Demerara, Guyana.
2. The Centre shall have an official seal approved by the Board.
3. The custody of the seal shall vest with the Board and the seal shall only be used by the authority of the Board and any instrument to which the seal is affixed shall be signed by the Secretary to the Board and countersigned by a trustee.

## CHAPTER II

## THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

## Article 11

Establishment of Board of Trustees

1. The Board of Trustees shall comprise -
  - (a) a Chairman who shall be appointed by the President of Guyana and the Commonwealth Secretary-General;
  - (b) four trustees appointed by the Government of Guyana, at least three of whom shall serve in an *ex officio* capacity, of whom one shall be an Amerindian;
  - (c) two trustees appointed by the Commonwealth Secretary-General; and
  - (d) eight other trustees, appointed jointly by the President of Guyana and the Commonwealth Secretary-General, on the basis of recommendations from the Donor Support Group and criteria such as professional expertise, gender, geographical representation, industrial expertise, fund raising capability, expertise in environmental matters, economics and communications.
  - (e) the Director-General, to be appointed by the Board in accordance with Article 16, shall be an *ex officio* trustee without the right to vote, and shall serve as the Secretary to the Board.

2. Trustees of the Board shall be appointed for three years and shall be eligible for re-appointment for another term of three years only: Provided that on the first appointment of Trustees of the Board, in an effort to ensure continuity of Board policies and operations, one of the trustees appointed under paragraph 1(b) other than the three ex officio trustees, and four of the trustees appointed under paragraph 1(d), shall be appointed for a period of eighteen months and shall not be eligible for re-appointment until eighteen months have lapsed from the date on which they ceased being trustees.
3. The remuneration and travel expenses payable to the Chairman and other voting members of the Board of Trustees for their attendance at Board meetings and any other work undertaken by them for the purposes of the Programme or the International Centre shall, in the light of relevant international practice, be determined by the Board.

## Article 12

### Powers of the Board of Trustees

All the powers of the Centre shall be vested in the Board and the Board shall be responsible for the supervision of the general operations and governance of the Centre. The powers of the Board shall include the power -

- (a) to decide the policies and priorities of the work of the Centre;
- (b) to approve the programmes and operational plans of the Centre;
- (c) to approve all contractual programmes or agreements entered into by the Centre;
- (d) to establish policies and principles for the guidance of the Director-General in the appointment of the staff;
- (e) to select and appoint the Director-General who shall be the Secretary to the Board under terms as deemed necessary and appropriate;
- (f) to scrutinise, revise and approve the budget estimates for the Centre;
- (g) to approve annual reports and audited accounts;
- (h) to appoint auditors and independent review committees;
- (i) to invite consultants or observers to attend the Board meetings as deemed necessary;
- (j) to determine the policy for the conditions of service and remuneration of staff;

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- (k) to approve financial procedures;
- (l) to approve other rules of procedure for the Centre as it deems to be necessary;
- (m) to receive, acquire or otherwise obtain from any governmental authority national or local, foreign or domestic, or from any corporation, company, association, person, firm, foundation, or other entity whether international, national or regional such charters, licences, rights and assistance, financial or otherwise, as are conducive to and necessary for the attainment of the purposes of the Centre;
- (n) to receive, acquire or otherwise obtain from any governmental authority, national or local, foreign or domestic, or from any corporation, company, association, person, firm, foundation or other entity whether international, national or regional such donation, grant, devise, bequest, or lease, either absolutely or in trust, contributions consisting of such properties, movable or immovable, including funds and valuable effects or things, as may be useful or necessary to carry out the purposes and activities of the Centre, and to hold, operate, administer, use, sell, convey or dispose of the said properties or valuable things;
- (o) to borrow money to such extent as may be authorised by the Board; and
- (p) to do such other acts or things as are conducive to or necessary in the furtherance of its specified powers.

## Article 13

Establishment of Communications and Information Unit

There shall be established, as a unit of the Centre, a Communications and Information Unit for the purpose of providing access to, and disseminating information, relevant to the work of the Centre.

## Article 14

Establishment of Standing Committees

The Board may establish and determine the functions of an Executive and Finance Committee, a Programme Committee, an Audit Committee, a Nominating Committee and such other Committees as the Board may deem necessary for the efficient discharge of its functions.



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## Article 15

Power to Delegate

Subject to this Agreement, the Board may delegate to any Standing Committee, or any trustee of the Board, or to the Director-General, the power and authority to carry out on its behalf such of its functions as the Board may determine.

## Article 16

Director-General and Staff

1. The Board of Trustees, by a majority of all voting members of the Board, shall appoint a Director-General of the Programme and the Centre and decide his/her term of office.
2. The Director-General shall normally be appointed for a term of five years and may be re-appointed for a second term to be determined by the Board. His/her appointment may be terminated for cause by a majority of all voting members of the Board.
3. The Director-General shall be the chief executive officer of the Centre, and shall be responsible to the Board for its operation and management and for ensuring that its programmes are properly developed and carried out and its objectives attained.
4. The Director-General shall implement the policies of the Board, follow the guidelines laid down by the Board for the functioning of the Centre and carry out the directions of the Board.
5. The Director-General shall -
  - (a) develop and submit to the Board plans and schemes for the implementation of the research programmes and operational activities;
  - (b) recruit and appoint, subject to the approval of the Board, a highly qualified multi-disciplinary staff which shall be under his/her supervision;
  - (c) prepare the annual report referred to in Article 9 on the work of the Centre;
  - (d) prepare the annual budget of the Programme and the Centre for submission to the Board;

- (e) keep and have available for review by the Board and other appropriate parties financial accounts and other records on a current basis;
  - (f) have done annually in accordance with Article 20 an independent audit of the financial records;
  - (g) perform such other functions as are entrusted to him/her by the Board.
6. The Director-General shall be the legal representative of the Centre, shall sign all deeds, contracts, agreements and other legal documents necessary for the operation of the Centre and may delegate such of his/her functions and to such extent as the Board may authorise.
7. The employment and selection of staff shall be based on professional competence bearing in mind the international character of the Centre, the paramount consideration in such employment and in the determination of conditions of service being the necessity of securing the highest standards of quality, efficiency and integrity.

#### Article 17

##### Meetings of the Board

1. The Board shall meet at such times as may be necessary or expedient for the transaction of business, and meetings of the Board shall be held at least twice in every year and at such places (including any place outside Guyana) and times and on such days as the Board may determine.
2. The Chairman may at any time call a special meeting of the Board within fifteen days of a requisition for that purpose addressed to him/her in writing by any four members.
3. Eight trustees of the Board shall form a quorum for the transaction of business at a meeting.
4. The Board shall elect a Vice-Chairman from its membership.
5. At a meeting of the Board the Chairman shall preside, or in his/her absence, the Vice-Chairman shall preside and in the absence of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman the trustees present may appoint one of their members to act as Chairman for the meeting.

6. In voting at meetings of the Board, each trustee shall, subject to paragraph 1(e) of Article 11, be entitled to one vote. All decisions of the Board shall be by a simple majority of the number of trustees present and voting. However, in matters relating to the utilisation of resources of the Programme Site, decisions of the Board shall require the concurrence of the trustees appointed by the Government of Guyana.
7. Minutes in proper form on each meeting shall be recorded by the Secretary to the Board and shall be confirmed by the Board at a subsequent meeting.
8. The Board shall settle its own rules of procedure.

### CHAPTER III

#### SUPPORT FOR IWOKRAMA INTERNATIONAL CENTRE

##### Article 18

##### Donor Support Group, Consortium of Collaborating Institutions, Advisory Panel on Sustainable Human Development

1. The Centre shall organise a Donor Support Group, a Consortium of Collaborating Institutions, and an Advisory Panel on Sustainable Human Development.
2. The Donor Support Group shall consist, inter alia, of representatives of bilateral and multilateral agencies, foundations, and private and public sector companies, interested in providing resources for the core and other activities of the Centre and the Board shall, by virtue of its powers under Article 12, receive and acknowledge receipt of any such support.
3. The Consortium of Collaborating Institutions shall consist of Universities, technical, scientific and other research institutions interested in entering into partnerships with the Centre.
4. The Advisory Panel on Sustainable Human Development shall tender advice on issues relating to Amerindian welfare, environment, equity, employment, and advancement of women, as related to the work of the Centre. The members of the Panel shall include media experts, environmentalists, social scientists, human anthropologists, ecologists and representatives of women's and Amerindian organisations.

## Article 19

Application of Funds

The expenses of the Centre, including the remuneration of the Director-General and other officers and employees, shall be paid out of the funds and resources of the Centre.

## Article 20

Accounts and Audit

The financial year of the Centre shall end on the thirty first day of December.

The Centre shall keep proper accounts and other records in respect of its operations and the accounts shall be audited annually by an auditor appointed by the Board.

The Centre shall be responsible for settling any debt, liabilities or obligations from its assets.

The Board and its officers and employees shall grant to the auditor appointed under paragraph 2 access to all books, documents, cash and securities of the Centre and shall give him/her on request all such information as may be within their knowledge in relation to the operation of the Centre.

The Board shall prepare for submission to the Government of Guyana and the Commonwealth Secretariat and for inspection of a member of the Donor Support Group or other donors, within three months after the end of each year, a report of its activities throughout the preceding year and attach thereto a copy of the report of the audit undertaken under this article.

The Government of Guyana and the Commonwealth Secretariat after considering the report submitted under paragraph 5 may tender advice to the Board, which the Board notwithstanding anything in this Agreement, shall take due cognisance of.

Where the accounts and other records indicate that the Centre has become self-financing through discoveries, inventions, improvements or the utilisation of the natural resources of the Programme Site, the net revenue shall be divided between the Government of Guyana and the Centre equally.

## CHAPTER IV

## TERMINATION OF OPERATIONS

## Article 21

Termination of Operations

1. Subject to the approval of the President of Guyana and the Commonwealth Secretary-General, the Board may by resolution adopted by a vote of not less than two-thirds of the trustees terminate this Agreement and the operations of the Centre. Assets remaining thereafter, including the Programme Site, shall thereafter vest with the Government of Guyana.

After such termination, the Centre shall cease all activities, except those incident to the orderly realisation, conservation and preservation of its assets and settlement of its obligations.

## CHAPTER V

## STATUS, IMMUNITIES, EXEMPTIONS AND PRIVILEGES

## Article 22

Status of the Iwokrama International Centre

To enable the Centre effectively to fulfill its purposes and discharge its functions the status, immunities, exemptions and privileges set out in this Chapter shall be accorded the Centre of Guyana.

## Article 23

Legal Status

The Centre shall have the legal capacity of a body corporate and in particular the capacity to enter into contracts and to acquire and dispose of movable and immovable property except the Programme Site.

## Article 24

Immunities and Privileges of the Centre

The Centre shall have immunity from suit and legal process except -

- (a) in respect of a civil action for damage alleged to have been caused by a motor vehicle belonging to or operated on behalf of the Centre or in respect of a motor traffic offence involving such a vehicle; and

- (b) in respect of arbitration proceedings relating to any contract entered into by or on behalf of the Centre which relates to the business or commercial activity of the Centre.

#### Article 25

##### Contracts entered into by the Centre

Every contract entered into by or on behalf of the Centre which relates to the business or commercial activity of the Centre, if it does not contain an express provision for the reference of any dispute in connection with the contract to arbitration, shall be deemed to contain a provision that any such dispute shall accordingly be treated as an arbitration agreement for the purposes of the Arbitration Act, Cap. 7:03. of the Laws of Guyana.

#### Article 26

##### Freedom of Property from Restriction

1. Subject to paragraphs (2) and (3), the property and assets of the Centre wheresoever located and by whomsoever held shall be immune from search, requisition, confiscation, expropriation and any other form of seizure or foreclosure by executive, judicial or legislative action.
2. Nothing in paragraph (1) shall be construed as preventing the law enforcement authorities of Guyana from entering the Programme Site for the purposes of searching for and seizing any person or thing reasonably suspected of being related to the commission of a criminal offence by any person subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of Guyana.
3. Where an arbitrator acting in accordance with an arbitration agreement referred to in Article 25 makes an award against the Centre and a court orders the enforcement of such award, the provisions of paragraph (1) shall not be construed so as to prevent the seizure or foreclosure of property or assets to the extent necessary to satisfy the order of the court giving effect to the award.

#### Article 27

##### Immunity of Archives

The archives of the Centre shall be inviolable.



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## Article 28

Privileges of Communications

The official communications of the Centre shall be accorded the same treatment as the official communications of a diplomatic mission.

## Article 29

Immunities and Privileges of Officers and Employees

1. The Chairman and other members of the Centre and resident officers and employees (and members of their immediate families) of the Centre -
  - (a) shall be immune from legal process with respect to acts performed by them in their official capacity except where immunity is expressly waived; this immunity shall not apply, however, to civil liability in the case of damage arising from a road traffic accident caused by any such person;
  - (b) where they are not local citizens or nationals, shall be granted the same immunities from immigration restrictions, aliens registration requirements and the same facilities as regards exchange restrictions as are accorded to the representatives, officials and employees of comparable rank of diplomatic missions;
  - (c) where they are not local citizens or nationals, shall be granted the same treatment in respect of facilities as is accorded to representatives, officials and employees of comparable rank of diplomatic missions.
2. Where any person referred to in paragraph 1 is entitled under any other law or convention to greater privileges and immunities than those provided for under this Agreement, such person shall be entitled to be accorded such greater privileges and immunities.

## Article 30

Immunities from Taxation

1. The Centre, its assets, property, income and its operations and transactions authorised by this Agreement, shall be immune from all taxation including customs duties, consumption tax, capital gains tax, corporation tax, income tax, property tax and purchase tax and the Centre shall be immune from liability for the collection or payment of any tax or duty.

2. No tax shall be levied on or in respect of the remuneration and expenses paid to the Chairman and other members of the Board and salaries and emoluments paid by the Centre to the Director-General and other officers and employees of the Centre including experts performing services for the Centre. This provision shall only apply to officers and employees recruited from abroad.
3. No taxation of any kind shall be levied on any obligations or security issued by the Centre.

## CHAPTER VI

### AMENDMENTS, ARBITRATION

#### Article 31

##### Amendments

This Agreement may be amended in such manner as may be determined by the Board with the approval of the President of Guyana and the Commonwealth Secretary-General.

#### Article 32

##### Arbitration

1. Any dispute concerning the interpretation or application of this Agreement which is not settled by negotiation or other agreed mode of settlement shall be referred for final decision to an arbitral tribunal of three arbitrators. Each party to this Agreement shall appoint one arbitrator and the two arbitrators so appointed shall appoint the third who shall be Chairman of the tribunal. If within thirty days of the request for arbitration either party has not appointed an arbitrator or if within thirty days after the appointment of the two arbitrators the third arbitrator has not been appointed, either party to this Agreement may request the United Nations Secretary-General to make the necessary appointment. The arbitral tribunal shall adopt its own rules of procedure. However, the Chairman of the tribunal shall have the power to settle all questions of procedure in any case of disagreement with respect thereto.
2. A majority of votes of the arbitrators shall be sufficient to reach a decision which shall be final and binding upon the parties.

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## CHAPTER VII

## FINAL PROVISIONS

## Article 33

Entry into Force

This Agreement shall enter into force when it has been signed by the Government of Guyana and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

## Article 34

Inaugural Meeting

As soon as possible after this Agreement enters into force the Board shall convene its inaugural meeting.

IN WITNESS whereof, the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto, have affixed their signatures to this Agreement.

DONE in duplicate at Auckland, this ninth day of November  
One Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety Five.

For the Government of the  
Co-operative Republic of Guyana

For the Commonwealth  
Secretariat

Signed]

[Signed]

H.E. Dr Cheddi Jagan MP  
President of Guyana

H.E. Chief Emeka Anyaoku  
Commonwealth Secretary-General

Passed by the National Assembly on 14th March, 1996.

Bill No.22 of 1995)

*F.A. Narain*  
Clerk of the National Assembly.

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